

THE JEWS IN THE BALKAN PROVINCES OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE : AN EPIGRAPHIC AND
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Alexander Panayotov

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Alexander Panayotov

PhD Candidate

Submitted: 28th January 2004

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**The Jews in the Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire.
An Epigraphic and Archaeological Survey**

(Abstract)

Alexander Panayotov

School of Divinity, University of St. Andrews

The dissertation investigates the social, economic and religious aspects of Jewish life in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire between the 4th century BCE and 8th century CE. This is the first study, which studies the social and religious life of the Jewish communities in the Balkans, as recoded in the epigraphic and archaeological material, and will provide scholars with much needed basis for further research in the field. The primary focus of my research is a historical analysis of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence regarding the Jewish communities in the Roman provinces of Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia, Moesia, Thracia, Macedonia, Achaia and Crete. The work is arranged in the form a corpus of inscriptions with additional entries on the archaeological and literary evidence. The intention has been to include all Jewish inscriptions and archaeological remains from the Balkans, which are likely to date from before c.700 CE. The analysis concentrates on the language and content of the available inscriptions, the onomastic repertoire employed, the historical context of the Jewish archaeological remains and their relation to the non-Jewish archaeological material from the region. The results of my research are important for understanding the involvement of Jews in the city life and their civic status, the cultural interaction between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours and may define the local community organisation and background of Jewish settlement in the Balkan provinces of the Roman empire. In my commentaries I suggest that the social system of the Jewish communities in the Balkans was dependent upon the local public and economic situation in the Roman city but not determined by it.

PREFACE

During my years of research in Sofia and St. Andrews many people have helped me with their friendship and good advice. My immediate thanks go to my family, but particularly to Joanna and my daughter Rada for their love.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAssJewsBulg	Annual of the Social, Cultural and Educational Association of the Jews in the Republic of Bulgaria
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
ACMI	Anuarul comisiunii monumentelor istorice
Acta Antiqua	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ActaArchHung	Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ADelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
AE	L'Année Épigraphique
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich
AEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
AIPh	Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
AJSreview	Association for Jewish Studies Review
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AMNAPlovdiv	Annuaire Musée National Archéologique Plovdiv
AncCivScySib	Ancient Civilisations from Scythia to Siberia
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AntCl	L'antiquité classique
AntW	Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Urgeschichte
AnzWien	Anzeiger Wien
APreg	Arheoloski pregled
Archeion Euboikon Meleton	Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν
ASAthene	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente
Athena	Ἀθήνα
Athenaion	Ἀθηναίων. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BACSerbe	Bulletin de l'Académie des lettres royales Serbe
BAIEMA	Bulletin d'Information, Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque antique

BalkSt	Balkan Studies
BAMusParent	Bulletin archéologique du Musée Parent
BAncSyn	Bulletin of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCMI	Buletinul comisiunii monumentelor istorice
BE	Bulletin épigraphique
BIABulg	Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare [Известия на Българския Археологически Институт]
BICA	Bulletino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica
BJGS	Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
BS i-iii	Beth She'arim
BSABulg	Bulletin de la société archéologique bulgare [Известия на Българското Археологическо Дружество]
BSHBul	Bulletin de la société historique bulgare [Известия на Българското Историческо Дружество]
BulgHistR	Bulgarian Historical Review
BullDal	Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata [=VAHD]
ByZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
ByzJb	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina
CIG	Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum
CIJ	Corpus inscriptionum Judaicarum
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
CIRB	Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani
CIS	Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum
CJZC	– see Lüderitz
CPJ	Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers

EE	Ephemeris epigraphica. Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum
EEBS	Ἐπετηρίς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν
EMC	Echos du Monde Classique
Epig	Epigraphica
Evreiska Tribuna	Еврейска трибуна
FD	Fouilles de Delphes
GlasMuz	Glasnik hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu
GlasSKA	Glasnik Srpska kraljevska akademija
GPNAM	Годишник на Пловдивската народна библиотека и музей
GradaVojvodine	Града за проучвање споменика културе Војводине
GZM	Glaznik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
ICret	Inscriptiones Creticae
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGBulg	Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae
IGCVO	Inscriptiones Graecae christianae veteres occidentis
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IIBulg	Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae
ILCV	Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres
ILJug	Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt; ed. A. & J. Šašel
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae selectae
IRAIK	Известия Русскаго Археологического Института в Константинополе
ISM	Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris
JAs	Journal asiatique
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JbGJJ	Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums
JbJüdLitGes	Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIGRE	– see Horbury & Noy
JIWE	– see Noy
JJewArt	Journal of Jewish Art
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies

JMS	Journal of Mediterranean Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
Kairos	Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie
Kretika Chronika	Κρητικά Χρονικά
L&S	Lewis & Short
LA	Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus
LGPN	– see Matthews
LSJ	Liddell, Scott & Jones
Makedonika	Μακεδονικά
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua
MEFR	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome
MélGR	Mélanges gréco-romains
MemPontAcc	Memorie. Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
MKDAI,RA	Mittheilungen des (kaiserlich) deutschen archaeologischen Instituts. Römische Abt.
MonAnt	Monumenti Antichi
NAMSL	Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires
NDIEC	New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity
NedThT	Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift
NJbKlAlt	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum
NJbPhPaed	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik
NTS	New Testament Studies
OCD	The Oxford Classical Dictionary
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
OGIS	Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PAE	Πρακτικά της ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
PEQ	Palestine Exploration (Fund) Quarterly (Statement)

PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. Migne
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. Migne
Platon	Πλάτων
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire
Polemon	Πολέμων
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
RA	Revue archéologique
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RB	Revue biblique
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, new rev. ed. by G. Wissowa [and W. Kroll], Stuttgart 1894-1978.
REA	Revue des études anciennes
REB	Revue des études byzantines
REG	Revue des études grecques
REJ	Revue des études juives
REL	Revue des études latines
RhMus	Rheinische Museum für Philologie
RICM	Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III ^e au VI ^e siècle; ed. D Feissel
RIJurG	Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques
RIL	Rendiconti di Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere
RIU	Die Römische Inschriften aus Ungarns
RivFil	Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica
RPh	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten
SbBerlin	Sitzungsberichte der (Königlichen / Preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
SCI	Scripta classica Israelica
SDHI	Studia et documenta historiae et iuris
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum
SGDI	Sammlung griechischer Dialekt-Inschriften
SGLIBulg	Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien
SIG	Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum; ed. W. Dittenberger
SSAC	Sussidi allo studio dell'antichità cristiana
StCath	Studia Catholica
StCIstor	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche
StCl	Studii clasice
SymbOsl	Symbolae Osloenses
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris

TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
Tekmeria	Τεκμήρια
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TM	Travaux et mémoires. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantine
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
VAHD	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku [=BullDal]
VDI	Вестник Древней Истории
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WJA	Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
b.	Babylonian Talmud
dat.	dative
def.art.	definite article
eds.	editors / editions
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
indic.	indicative
l.	<i>lege</i> (i.e. correct spelling)
m.	Mishnah
majusc.	majuscules
masc.	masculine
minisc.	miniscules
nom.	nominative
pers.	person
pl.	plural
sing.	singular
subjunct.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative
y.	Jerusalem Talmud

Diacritical system

The following diacritical system has been used, following the Leiden epigraphic convention:

- () for the resolution of an abbreviation
- [] for the restoration of lost text
- < > for the correction of a mistake or omission in the inscription
- { } for superfluous text which should be ignored
- [[]] for text which was deliberately erased in antiquity
- [...] for lost text where the number of letters is fairly certain
- [---] for lost text where the number of letters is uncertain
- ^{v.} / ^{vac.} (vacat) indicates a gap deliberately left in the text
- +
- | for an individual letter of which traces remain but which cannot be identified
- | indicates a line division
- Ɑ A dot beneath a letter indicates that the reading is uncertain
- l. in the app. crit. stands for 'lege', i.e. 'to be read as', indicating a deviation from normal spelling in the inscription

Transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet (Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian) into English:

А а	A
Б б	B
В в	V
Г г	G
Д д	D
Е е	E
Ж ж	Ž or Zh
З з	Z
И и	I
Й й	Y
К к	K
Л л	L
М м	M
Н н	N
О о	O
П п	P
Р р	R
С с	S
Т т	T
У у	U

Ф ф	F
Х х	H
Ц ц	C
Ч ч	Č or Ch
Ш ш	Š or Sh
Щ щ	Št or Sht
Ъ ъ	U or Ā
Ы ы	Y
Ь ь	'
Э э	È
Ю ю	Yu
Я я	Ya
Ё ё	È
Ђ ђ	Đ
Ј ј	J
Љ љ	Lj
Њ њ	Nj
Ћ ћ	Ć
џ џ	Dj

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims to introduce the epigraphic and archaeological evidence concerning the Jews in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire. Despite the recent interest in the Jewish Diaspora in general¹ and the publication of major collections of Jewish inscriptions from Egypt, Cyrenaica, Western Europe, Rome, and the Bosphoran kingdom, a systematic study of the available archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources regarding the Jewish Diaspora in the Balkans is still unavailable.² It is difficult to explain the striking ignorance by scholars (both Eastern and Western) of the sources concerning the Jews in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire. One will recall the recent political orientation of some of the East European countries as a possible reason; the unavailability of scholarly publications from the region in the West; the inconsistent, even chaotic, publishing policy in many East European (Balkan) countries; the problem of the languages of these publications; the striking 'lack' of interest within the modern Jewish communities in the region to engage in such research, which curiously resulted in the virtual absence of modern Israeli research on the subject, etc. Whatever the truth is little or nothing has been said about the Jewish communities in the region. Most scholars limit themselves to the evidence of Philo, Josephus, the book of Acts, and a few archaeological discoveries (mostly from the early 20th century – Delos, Aegina, etc) and inscriptions. The sources about the Jews in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire are usually discussed within

¹ Trebilco 1991; Rutgers 1995; Barclay 1996, etc.

² Horbury & Noy 1992 [JIGRE]; Lüderitz 1983; Noy 1993 [JIWE i]; Noy 1995 [JIWE ii]; Levinskaya 1996.

the context of larger studies of the Jewish Diaspora or the history of the Christian mission in the region, but never within the context of the history of the Roman Balkans.³ In short, a study of the social and religious aspects of the everyday life of Jews in this part of the Roman Empire is long overdue. Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is to give a systematic historical analysis of the available epigraphic and archaeological evidence on the Jews in the provinces of Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia, Moesia, Thracia, Macedonia, Achaia and Crete (Pls. I-III).⁴ In modern political terms the dissertation covers the territories of Slovenia, Croatia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia (incl. Vojvodina and Kosovo) and Montenegro, Romania, Bulgaria, FYR Macedonia, Greece and Turkey. I hope it will provide scholars with a much needed basis for further research in the field. The material included could be used for understanding the involvement of Jews in city life and their civic status, the cultural interaction between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours, and may define the pattern of Jewish settlement in the Balkans. The analysis will concentrate on the language and content of the available inscriptions and literary evidence, the onomastic repertoire employed, the historical context of the Jewish archaeological remains and their relation to the non-Jewish archaeological material from the region.

The material is arranged geographically starting from the north-western end of the Balkan Peninsula i.e., from the Roman province of Pannonia Inferior. It covers the period between the 4th century BCE (the first known Jewish inscription; *Ach45*) to the 8th century CE when the use of Greek in Jewish inscriptions gradually stopped. It is arranged in the form of a corpus of inscriptions because the epigraphic evidence is most abundant and least known. In the case of the synagogue inscriptions, I have

³ Except the brief comments in the general works of Juster (1914), and Revised Schürer (1973-1987).

⁴ As at the death of Trajan (117 CE), all later developments of provinces' names and territories are taken into consideration.

decided that it is preferable not to separate them from their archaeological context. Thus, the evidence regarding the excavated synagogues in the Balkans (Delos, Aegina, Stobi and Philippopolis) is discussed prior to the entries of the relevant inscription. In most cases the grounds for identification of the inscriptions as Jewish, the offices held by Jews in the Roman cities and Jewish communities in the Balkans, their professional and social standing within the Graeco-Roman society etc, are discussed. The inscriptions have been numbered according to the Roman provinces in existence c.100 CE (Pannonia Inferior, Dalmatia, Moesia, Thracia, Macedonia, Achaia, Crete).⁵ The large Achaia part is divided into sections for Thessaly, Attica and Central Greece, Peloponnese, and the Greek Islands (excluding the islands of Samos, Chios, Rhodes and Cos), but all the inscriptions are numbered 'Ach##'. There are brief introductions to individual towns where appropriate. The literary evidence regarding the Jews in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire is also discussed in the introductions. A full list of the available archaeological and literary evidence is provided in the index.

The criteria for selecting a Jewish inscription follow, with some adjustment of categories, the outline set by Noy in *JIWE*:

1. The use of Hebrew and Aramaic.
2. The use of specifically Jewish symbols, particularly the *menorah* (seven-branched candelabrum), but also the *ethrog* (citron-fruit) and *shofar* (trumpet).
3. The use of Jewish terminology (e.g. ἀρχισυνάγωγος, προσευχή), when it can be verified independently from the inscription or other source, or designations (Ἑβραῖος, Ἰουδαῖος).

⁵ Part of the Eastern Greek archipelago.

4. The use of distinctively Jewish names (e.g. Judas), in contexts where their use does not seem more likely to be Christian than Jewish.

5. Provenance from a synagogue.

Jewish inscriptions, which have been thought to be earlier than 700 CE but are more likely to be later are collected in *Appendix 1*. Inscriptions for whose Jewishness a serious case has been made, but which do not meet the criteria above, are included in *Appendix 2* or discussed under the relevant entry in the text. Inscriptions referring to famous Jews, as Herod the Great, and the Samaritan inscriptions from the region have also been included in the corpus.

The entry for each inscription consists of a bibliography (divided into editions, illustrations and other discussions), details of the inscription, text and *apparatus criticus*, and commentary. Where there are different interpretations of an inscription, I have tried to give all serious views, even if I have preferred one. In most cases, I have also tried to give an exhaustive bibliography though omissions will no doubt be found. Where possible a drawing or photograph of the inscription is provided. Many new photographs have been included, mostly from Greece, taken during my stay at the British School in Athens in the summer of 2003. Out of the 136 inscriptions in the main part of the text (excl. the appendixes), 42 were not included in the original or revised CIJ.

Since there is no satisfactory definition of a 'Jewish inscription' the criteria for its selection warrants a close examination. The occurrence of a *menorah* on an inscription is usually taken as indicator of its Jewish provenance. It is true, however, that in few cases the *menorah* is found on Christian monuments. Thus, a bread stamp from Egypt is engraved with crosses and menorahs and a lamp from Carthage bears the image of a saint or Christ and a *menorah*. Lamps with images of a *menorah* have

been found in the Christian catacombs of Rome.⁶ In those few registered cases, however, the *menorah* is usually accompanied by a Christian symbol like the *chi-ro* or the cross. The fact is that an independent usage of the *menorah* as a symbol by Christians or Jewish Christians has not been attested so far. This does not mean that a Christian usage of the symbol should be excluded. Simon notes that the occurrence of the *menorah* on Christian monuments points to the existence of 'Judaizing' tendencies among some Christians during the formative years of the Church.⁷ A vivid example of this is the evidence of St John Chrysostom that a number of Antiochene Christians took oaths and performed incubation in synagogues, observed the Sabbath and participated in other Jewish religious festivals.⁸ However, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between Jewish and Christian inscriptions if we assume that the *menorah* was the only symbol used by this group of Christians. The occurrence of the *menorah* on Christian monuments was, most likely, due to a Jewish influence in the same way some exclusively Christian formulae were adopted by Jews. In the majority of cases the evidence for the use of the *menorah* as a symbol by Christians and for the adoption of Christian formulae by Jews comes from artifacts associated with the burial or from necropolises. It is known that Jews, Christians and pagans shared necropolises in San Antioco in Sardinia, Rabat in Malta, Tyre, Alexandria, Edessa, Carthage, Doclea and Thessaloniki.⁹ Thus, in one of the two Jewish tombs discovered in the Eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki (*Mac15*) a *menorah* is painted next to an inscription, which is a paraphrase of the LXX text of Ps. 45.8, 12: Κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν ('The Lord is with us!'). This particular acclamation has not been attested before on Jewish monuments but is frequently

⁶ Simon 1949, 980; Goodenough 1964, 113-7; Rutgers 1992, 112-3; Hachlili 2001, 269-74, fig. VII-4.

⁷ Simon 1949, 979-80.

⁸ St John Chrysostom *Adv. Jud.* i; ii.1-3; iii; vii.1-3; viii.1 (PG 48, 843-942). Cf. Gager 1983, 118-20.

found in Christian inscriptions. The description of the tomb as κοιμητήριον that occurs on Jewish epitaphs from Phtiotic Thebes (*Ach21*) and Athens (*Ach28-30*) was used almost exclusively by Christians, and its occurrence on Jewish monuments was, most probably, due to a Christian influence.¹⁰ Although the occurrence of the *menorah* on some Christian monuments is a vivid example of the cross-fertilisation between Christianity and Judaism it cannot be taken as a conclusive proof that it was adopted as a symbol by the majority of Christians. As Hachilili puts it: 'the frequency of the appearance of the menorah in a Jewish context is the best proof that it was a Jewish symbol *par excellence*, although it was appropriated and used by Christians and Samaritans too'.¹¹

The meaning of Ἰουδαῖος / Ἰουδαία is still hotly debated among scholars.¹² Kraemer has recently, following an earlier article by Kraabel,¹³ suggested that the term Ἰουδαῖος / Ἰουδαία could also designate natives from Judaea, i.e. Judaeans (and *ergo* not necessary Jews), pagan attraction to Judaism and can be found as a personal name. According to Tomson, however, the term was one of 'outside identity', used by Jews only when they were outside their own community.¹⁴ To start with the last of Kraemer's suggestions, we should note that Ἰουδαῖος occurs as a personal name in two manumissions, dated to the 2nd century BCE, from Delphi (*Ach42*, *Ach44*). According to Fraser ethnic personal names were popular among slaves and ex-slaves.¹⁵ Kraemer's second suggestion (heavily indebted to the work of Kraabel) that the term functioned as a geographic indicator is more

⁹ Rutgers 1992, 112-4.

¹⁰ Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 6.

¹¹ Hachilili 2001, 274.

¹² On the term Ἑβραῖος cf. *Mac10*.

¹³ Kraabel 1982, 445-64.

¹⁴ Tomson 1986, 120-40.

¹⁵ Fraser 2001, 151-2 with examples.

problematic.¹⁶ First we should note, after Williams, that it is unlikely that the term Ἰουδαῖος / Ἰουδαία designated a Judean origin on inscriptions dated after the 2nd century CE since the name of the province Judaea was already changed to Syria-Palaestina by that time.¹⁷ In relation to the inscriptions dated before the 2nd century CE we should take into consideration the fact that the representation of place of origin in Jewish inscription does not differ from the established Graeco-Roman conventions. The form of representation usually includes an *ethnicon* in the nominative, the preposition ἀπὸ followed by the name of the village or the city or the city-name in the genitive. Thus, in the second century BCE manumissions from Delphi (*Ach*42-43) the origin of the manumitted slaves is clearly stated with the expression τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον / Ἰουδαίαν ('Jew / Jewess by race'). Two first century CE epitaphs from Athens commemorate Jewish women with the ethnics Ἱεροσολυμίτις and Ἀραδία i.e., they came from Jerusalem (*Ach*26) and Arad (possibly Arad in Phoenicia; *Ach*32). Jews from Tiberias and Sepphoris in Galilee described themselves as Ἰουδαεὺς Τιβε<ρ>ιήνσις (*Dal*2; Senia, Dalmatia) and Τιβεριεύς (*Ach*55; Taenarum, Peloponnese) and a native from Alexandria buried in Beroea, Macedonia, is called Ἀλε<ξ>α<ν>δρέου(ς) (*Mac*8). In the manumission from the Amphiareion in Oropus (*Ach*45), dated to the 300–250 BCE, which attests that a Jew undertook incubation in a pagan temple, the term was also used as a mark of ethnicity. Cohen, however, suggests that before the second century BCE, i.e. before the Hasmonean revolt of 166-160 BCE, Ἰουδαῖος / Ἰουδαία meant a 'Judean', which he understands as an ethno-

¹⁶ Kraemer 1989, 35-8, 52-3; Van der Horst 1991, 69-70.

¹⁷ Williams 1997, 251.

geographical term describing the inhabitants of Judaea.¹⁸ He also declines Kraabel and Kraemer's assumption that 'Judean' could mean a native from Judaea who is not necessarily a Jew.¹⁹ In his view 'virtually all the members of the Judaeen *ethnos* will have worshipped the God whose temple is in Jerusalem'.²⁰ It seems, however, that his idea of an ethnically homogeneous Judaea reconciles the opposing scholarly perceptions of 'Ιουδαῖος / 'Ιουδαία that it had either ethnic-religious ('Jew') or geographic ('Judacan') meaning. The problem with Cohen's suggestion is that Judaea was the name both of a country and a district of this country (and a Roman province).²¹ His construction is too elaborate, as we cannot verify that our sources made a difference between 'broadly' and 'narrowly' defined Judaea.²² In fact, they most probably did not.

The next of Kraemer's suggestions that the term 'Ιουδαῖος / 'Ιουδαία was used as a self-designation by pagan sympathizers to Judaism is difficult to prove. While there is literary and epigraphic evidence that Jewish proselytes were considered, at least by outsiders, 'Jews' after full conversion, the evidence about the status of the Jewish sympathizers remains obscure.²³ According to Cohen the sympathizers to

¹⁸ Cohen 1999, 104-6. He also suggests 2Macc 6.6, 9.17 is the first instance where the term 'Ιουδαῖος means 'Jew' (1999, 89-92). According to his construct after the Hasmonean revolt, and the successful incorporation of the Idumaeans in the Hasmonean state, the term acquired not only ethnical but religious definition - 'Jewishness became an ethno-religious identity'. Cf. Cohen 1999, 78-82, 110-9, 135-8.

¹⁹ Cohen 1999, 76-8.

²⁰ Cohen 1999, 105.

²¹ In the Hellenistic period Judaea was the territory around Jerusalem and populated mainly by Jews. The Roman province of Judaea was established in 6 CE and included the former Seleucid administrative districts of Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea. Rajak notes that the term 'Judaea' can sometimes be used loosely, as in the NT Acts where it sometimes designates the part of Palestine inhabited by Jews (OCD, s.v).

²² Cohen 1999, 72-3.

²³ JIWE ii 491. Cf. also Epictetus *ap.* Arrianus, *Diss.* ii, 9.19-21; Cassius Dio 37.17.1 (=GLAJJ i, 254; ii, 406). According to *b. Yebamoth*, 46b-47b true converts were those proselytes who had undergone circumcision and observed the Law with all ritual duties. Josephus, *Vita* 113, also singles out circumcision as the main act in gentile's conversion to Judaism. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Trypho* 123.1, also says that after circumcision the proselyte became equal to Jews (PG 6, 761A). However, according to *b. Sanhedrin*, 107b the immersion in water and instruction as the main acts of conversion. The same source also states that a person who claims to be a convert should be accepted by the congregation only

Judaism could be classified in the following categories: '(1) admiring some aspect of Judaism; (2) acknowledging the power of the god of the Jews or incorporating him into the pagan pantheon; (3) benefiting the Jews or being conspicuously friendly to Jews; (4) practising some or many of the rituals of the Jews; (5) venerating the god of the Jews and denying or ignoring the pagan gods; (6) joining the Jewish community; (7) converting to Judaism and "becoming a Jew"'.²⁴ However, the evidence at hand is much too complex to allow such a straight classification. The first problem is that the literary sources do not provide us with reliable information about the relations between the Jewish community and the sympathizers to Judaism. The evidence of the Greek and Roman authors actually presents outsiders views on Judaism and in most cases is ironic or polemical and reflects their curiosity about certain Jewish practices.²⁵ Thus, the non-Jewish observers of certain Jewish practices, like the keeping of the Sabbath and the abstention from pork, were mistakenly or deliberately called Jews.²⁶ Cohen even suggests that in the gentile society of the first centuries of the Common Era anyone who followed the observances of the Jews was called a Jew.²⁷ Whether such a generalisation is possible remains an open question, but we should note that the literary evidence could have been easily tampered depending on the author's view of Jews and Judaism. This is also evident in the early Christian anti-

after presentation of evidence for his or her conversion. Cohen (1999, 160-2), however, notes that even after full conversion the proselytes were not considered, by their new community, equal to the native born Jews.

²⁴ Cohen 1989, 14-5 (=Cohen 1999, 141).

²⁵ Abstention from pork: Philo, *ad Gaium* 361; Petronius, *Fr.* 37 (GLAJJ i, 195); Plutarch, *Quest. convivales* 4.4-5.3 (GLAJJ i, 258); keeping the Sabbath: Horace, *Sat.* 1, 9.60-78 (GLAJJ i, 130); Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* i, 75-80, 413-6 (GLAJJ i, 141-2); Persius, *Sat.* 5.176-84 (GLAJJ i, 190). From the beginning of the first century CE circumcision became a synonym of Judaism itself. See, for example, Strabo, *Geographica* 16.2.37 (GLAJJ i, 115); Tacitus, *Hist.* 5, 5.2 (GLAJJ ii, 281). The Roman satirists had a particular interest in this practice. Cf. Persius, *Sat.* 5.184 (GLAJJ i, 190); Petronius, *Sat.* 102 (68.8; GLAJJ i, 193); Martial, *Epig.* 7, 30.5; 7, 35.1-8; 7, 82.4-6; 11, 94.1-8 (GLAJJ i, 238-45). Cf. Juster i 1914, 263, n. 5.

²⁶ For example, Plutarch, *Vita Ciceronis* 7.6 (GLAJJ i, 263); Juvenal, *Sat.* 14, 96-106 (GLAJJ ii, 301). Cf. Goldenberg 1979, 414-46; Gager 1983, 57, 67-88; Cohen 1989, 189-91.

²⁷ Cohen 1999, 150.

Jewish polemical works where the members of those churches who kept certain Jewish rituals were deliberately described as Jews.²⁸ Thus, for example, St Epiphanius of Cyprus states that the Ebionites were Jews by name.²⁹ Comparing this passage with the evidence of St Irenaeus we can assume that St Epiphanius is actually saying that the Ebionites had observed certain Jewish practices.³⁰

The terminology applied, in the literary sources, to the group of the sympathizers to Judaism has also been hotly debated among scholars.³¹ The terms usually thought to designate the sympathizers to Judaism are φοβούμενοι or σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν ('fearers / worshippers of God'). The problem is that they are also used in LXX to designate pious Israelites.³² Concerning the evidence of Josephus there is no common opinion on the exact meaning of these terms in his works.³³ Thus, Marcus accepts the possibility that they could signify sympathizers to Judaism,³⁴ but Cohen finds that their meaning in Josephus' language is closer to that of LXX.³⁵ However, in the NT the terms probably refer to a group of Jewish sympathisers.³⁶ In the Acts we find different designations for this group: φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν (Acts 10.2, 22; 13.16, 26), σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν (13.50; 16.14; 18.4-8), σεβόμενοι (17.4), σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι (13.43), σεβόμενοι Ἕλληνες (17.17). The problem here is that none of these terms are found in inscriptions.³⁷ It has been suggested that the

²⁸ Gager 1983, 117-133; Simon 1996, 323-33.

²⁹ *Adv. Haer.* 30.1 (PG 41, 405C).

³⁰ *Adv. Haer.* 1, 26.2 (PG 7, 686B-687A). The Council of Laodicea (360 CE) also issued several restrictions on the Judaizing among Christians. Cf. canons 16, 27, 29 & 38 in Mansi ii 1901, 570-1, 578-89. Cf. further Simon 1996, 247-54.

³¹ Cf. Kant 1987, 687-90 & Levinskaya 2000, 88-103, for a summary of the debate.

³² Ps. 15.4; 22.23, 25; 25.12, 14; 31.19; 60.4; Mal. 3.16; 4.2, 2, etc.

³³ AJ 2.20.2; 14.7.2; 20.8.11; CA 2.40.

³⁴ Marcus 1952, 247-50.

³⁵ Cohen 1987, 416-27.

³⁶ Kraabel (1981, 119-21) challenges this view suggesting that the existence of sympathizers in Acts was a result of Luke's literary creativity, but he overstates his case and this suggestion can not be proven. Cf. Levinskaya 2000, 100-3.

³⁷ On the manumission from Panticapaeum (CIRB 1965, 71) usually thought to include reference to the σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν see now Lavinskaya 2000, 124-34.

epigraphically attested term θεοσεβής ('pious') corresponds to the terminology applied in Acts and designates a sympathizer to Judaism.³⁸ However, as noted by Robert and Levinskaya, θεοσεβής could be interpreted as an adjective referring to a pious or religious person.³⁹ This usage is very close to the employment of the term ὅσιος ('pious') in Jewish inscriptions from Rome, Beth Shearim and Beroea.⁴⁰ The term θεοσεβής is used with a similar meaning by a number of Christian authors⁴¹ and occurs on, probably, Christian inscriptions from Rome.⁴² In most Jewish inscriptions where the term θεοσεβής occurs it can be interpreted either as a designation of a sympathizer to Judaism, or a reference to a pious person.⁴³ There are only few cases where we can, with some certainty, suggest that the term refers to sympathizers to Judaism only – in inscriptions from Lydia, Aphrodisias and the theatre in Miletus.⁴⁴ The diverse character of the literary and epigraphic evidence concerning the sympathizers to Judaism makes the suggestion of Kraemer that Ἰουδαῖος / Ἰουδαία was used as a self-designation by them an interesting, but unverifiable suggestion. It is also bound to remain obscure because it would be impossible to distinguish an inscription set by a sympathizer to Judaism and described as a 'Jew' from the properly Jewish one without any

³⁸ Kant 1987, 687-8; Van der Horst 1991, 71-2; Feldman 1993, 49-55. The term does not occur in Jewish inscriptions from the Balkans.

³⁹ Robert (1964, 39-45) suggests it refers to pious Jews. Cf. also Levinskaya 2000, 97.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Mac* 9.

⁴¹ Lampe s.v.

⁴² IGCVO 964-5, 1010, 1014.

⁴³ Rome (JIWE ii, 207, 392, 627); Lorium (JIWE i, 12); Venosa (JIWE i, 113); Rhodes (CIJ i² 1975, Prol. 731e); Cos (Paton & Hicks 1891, 278); Sardes (Kroll 2001, 8-9, 22, 57, 59, 66); Tralles (Lifshitz 1967, 30). Cf. Levinskaya 2000, 103-18.

⁴⁴ Lydia (CIJ ii, 754); Miletus (CIJ ii, 748); Aphrodisias (Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, face a, ll. 19-20; face b, l. 34; cf. pp. 49-67 for commentary). Cf. Trebilco 1991, 162; Levinskaya 2000, 105-7, 109-10, 118-24. The same observation applies to the Latin term *metuens* thought to be the Latin equivalent of θεοσεβής. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 14, 96-9 and the commentary in GLAJJ ii, 103-6; JIWE i, 9 (Pula). See further Feldman 1950, 200-1; Van der Horst 1991; Simon 1996, 285.

additional indicator. Instructive in this case are a number of inscriptions left by Jewish proselytes, which explicitly state that the person is a proselyte.⁴⁵

In the Jewish inscriptions from the Balkans the practice of Judaism by Jews is expressed with the reference to particular Jewish religious practices or feasts like the daily prayers offered to the God of Israel (*Ach51*, Argos), the Day of Atonement (*Ach70-71*, Rheneia) or with formulae like πολειτευσάμενος πᾶσαν πολειτείαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν ('having lived my whole life according to (the prescriptions of) Judaism'; *Mac1*, Stobi). Similar language is found in the Samaritan inscriptions from the Balkans. Their religious practices and beliefs are expressed with the inclusion, in the honorific inscriptions from Delos (*Ach66-67*), of the formulae οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀργαρίζειν and οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀργαρίζειν ('make offerings to the temple (on the) holy [or to sacred and holy] Garizim [Argarizin]'), which specifically refer to the annual payments to the temple on Mt Garizim made by the Samaritans. It is worth noting the ethnic Ἰσραηλῖται used by the Samaritans on Delos to distinguish them from the Jews, the Ἰουδαῖοι, living on the island. However, the problem with the meaning of Σαμαρείτης / Σαμαρεῖτις / Σαμαρεὺς in the Samaritan inscriptions from the Balkans (*Dal4*; *Ach35-37*, *Ach41*, *Ach66-68*) is more complex. It is not clear whether these terms designated in inscriptions a Samaritan by religion or a native of Samaria. An adequate solution to this problem could be found in the suggestion of van der Horst that we need other indicators, like the formulae from Delos cited above, than the terms Σαμαρείτης / Σαμαρεῖτις / Σαμαρεὺς to ascertain that an inscription refers to a member or members of the Samaritan religious

⁴⁵ Rome: *JIWE* ii, 62, 577; Aphrodisias: Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, face *a*, ll. 17, 22; Masada:

community.⁴⁶ By contrast, the meaning of Ἰουδαῖος / Ἰουδαία in inscriptions is more or less clear. The term was 'used with pride by both those born as Jews and those converted to Judaism, it might, depending on place and time, serve either to stress similarities or to emphasise differences'.⁴⁷

The use of Biblical names by Jews as indicator for the Jewish provenance of an inscription also poses a problem for the interpreter. There is a possibility that such names were also adopted by Jewish proselytes and Christians. However, the evidence for the adoption of Biblical names by Jewish proselytes is somewhat scattered and meagre. The Biblical names evidenced in Jewish inscriptions from the Balkans and Crete are fewer than the Greek and Latin names that occur on the inscriptions (22 out of 195). The attested Biblical names are: Ἀβράμιος (*Mac18*); Ἀνανίας (*Ach33*); Ἀννα (*Mac17*, *Ach17*, *Ach49*); Βενιαμῆς (*Mac16*, *Ach27*); Ἰακώβ (*Mac17*, *Ach34*); Ἰουδαῖος (*Ach42*, *Ach44*); Ἰούδα (*Ach1*, *Ach7*); Ἰσαάκ (*Thr2*); Ἰσσαχάρ (*Ach46*); Ἰωνάθαν (*Ach15*, *Ach56*); Ἰωσήφ (*Mac8*, *Ach51*, *Ach53*); Ἰωσήφ (*Thr1*) and Ἰώσηφος (*Cre1*). In certain cases, like in Philippopolis (*Thr1-2*), Stobi (*Mac1*), Philippi (*Mac16*) and Thessaloniki (*Mac17*) the inscriptions evidence the use of Biblical by-names. Mussies suggests that the use of a Biblical/Semitic by-name by a person bearing a Greek or Roman name could indicate that this person was a proselyte.⁴⁸ However, the only clear epigraphic evidence outside in the Jewish Diaspora of proselytes adopting new names are two epitaphs from Rome (3rd-4th century CE), where Felicitas is called Peregrina, and Veturia Paula has Sarah as her

Mussies 1994, 260.

⁴⁶ Van der Horst 1990, 137.

⁴⁷ Williams 1997, 257.

⁴⁸ Mussies 1994, 259-62. Williams also suggests that in the third century there were political reasons for the adoption of a new name by the Jews in Roman Palestine and the Diaspora. Cf. Williams 1995, 89, 106-9.

by-name,⁴⁹ and the Aphrodisias inscription where three Jewish proselytes are called Σαμουηλ, Ἰωσῆς and Εἰώσηφ.⁵⁰ In Roman Palestine a similar practice is evidenced on an ossuary inscription from Jerusalem and an *ostrakon* from Masada.⁵¹

Perhaps, one reason for the adoption of Biblical name was the convert's belief that such a name demonstrated piety and faith. They preferred to adopt the names of the Old Testament patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, etc.) who were first chosen by God of Israel because of their faith. Thus, in the aforementioned inscription from Aphrodisias we encounter the names of three Jewish proselytes named after the prophet Samuel and the patriarch Joseph. Acquiring a Jewish name was connected to the adoption of Jewish rites and customs. The next, perhaps, was the intention that the new name would secure the Lord's blessing and protection upon the believer. An early instance of such a practice among Christians is mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea in his account of the martyrdom of five Egyptian Christians at Caesarea in 310 CE. Before their martyrdom they changed their names to Elijah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel and Daniel.⁵² This is confirmed by Procopius of Gaza who notes, in the fourth century, that during the fierce persecutions many Christians of pagan birth adopted the names of Biblical patriarchs and prophets - like Jacob, Israel, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Daniel, and then went with pride to martyrdom.⁵³ Further, we must note that the choosing of a new name could be inspired by the wish to 'inherit' the qualities of an honoured and distinguished person or a hero. This practice was very common in the Ancient world. There were people who adopted theophoric names, like Απολλώνιος

⁴⁹ JIWE ii 62, 577. There are another five inscriptions from Rome where the deceased are described as proselytes (JIWE ii 218, 224, 392, 489, 491).

⁵⁰ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 45, ll. a13, 17, 22.

⁵¹ CIJ ii 1385.

⁵² *De mart. Palaest.* 11.8 (PG 20, 1504A).

⁵³ *Comm. in Isaiam* 44.1-5 (PG 87, 2, 2401C).

or Ἑρμῆς for religious reasons.⁵⁴ They believed that to bear the name of a deity is to sustain a special and very real connection with the deity, and to be under his particular protection. It was the same idea, which lead Christians, by the beginning of third century, to adopt a Biblical name or the name of some particular spiritual hero who had helped them. Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius reports that certain Christian parents named their children after the apostles St Paul and St Peter.⁵⁵ In the fourth century St John Chrysostom recommended Christian parents to name their children not after honoured and distinguished ancestors but after pious and saintly Christians conspicuous for their goodness. The saintly men whose names are recommended may have included Old Testament and New Testament figures or pious contemporaries.⁵⁶ According to St Theodoret of Cyrrhus, certain Christians were keen to confer martyrs' names on their children, thereby securing protection and guardian care for them.⁵⁷ It is probable that some of the Gentile converts to Judaism or Christianity adopted new names, believing that they would secure and keep them from any misfortune. However, as it concerns the epigraphic evidence, in all cases where we encounter the use of a Biblical/Semitic by-name it is explicitly stated that the persons mentioned are proselytes. Moreover, the Rabbinical prescriptions on the procedure governing the reception of converts to Judaism do not explicitly state that choosing a new name was mandatory for the converts, as was the adoption of Jewish rites and customs.⁵⁸

The epigraphic evidence for the Jews in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire is dated between the 4th century BCE and the 8th century CE. The character of

⁵⁴ Horsley 1987b, 7-13.

⁵⁵ *Hist. Eccl.* 7, 25.14 (PG 20, 700C)

⁵⁶ *In Gen. Hom.* 21 (PG 53, 179).

⁵⁷ *De Graec. Affect.* 8 (PG 83, 1034).

⁵⁸ *b. Sanhedrin* 107b; *Yebamoth* 46b-47b; *Kerithoth* 9a.

the inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, the considerable time gaps between the dated inscriptions and their disparate geographical distribution makes the epigraphic evidence too fragmentary for general conclusions about the religious and social life of Jews in the Balkan provinces to be plausibly drawn from it. It would be possible, however, for such conclusions to be made, in the future, about particular Roman provinces where the epigraphic and archaeological material is relatively abundant like Macedonia and Achaëa. The scope of the present work is to provide scholars with basis for further study in the field. It is planned as a corpus of inscriptions and archaeological material related to the presence of Jews in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire. Its focus is to collect and analyse primary sources, rather than to be a historical study, which makes the inclusion of an overall conclusion or summary unnecessary. Nevertheless, some short and cautious, if not airtight, observations can be made. In most of the cases, with the exception of Dordicum⁵⁹, the evidence reveals that Jews preferred to settle in the major administrative and military centres, such as Salonae, Oescus, Philippopolis, Stobi, Thessaloniki, Athens, Corinth, etc. This pattern was followed not only by Jews, but also by other immigrants from the eastern provinces.⁶⁰ It appears, following the epigraphic and archaeological evidence that the social system of the Jewish communities in the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire was dependent upon the local public and economic situation in the Roman City but not determined by it. While drawing from the Biblical tradition, Jews in the Balkans often had by-names, and used inscriptional formulae, which were very common in the Graeco-Roman cultural environment. Thus, we are presented with Jewish communities, which creatively adapted their traditions in their local

⁵⁹ Cf. pp. 17-9.

⁶⁰ Velkov 1965, 20-6.

environment, at some points clearly distinct, at others largely indistinguishable from their neighbours.

Chapter 1

PANNONIA INFERIOR

The Roman province of Pannonia was established in the 9 CE and was governed by *legati Augusti pro praetore* of consular rank. After the annexation of Dacia in 106 CE, the province was divided into two provinces, the larger *Pannonia Superior* in the west under a consular legate, and *Pannonia Inferior* in the east under a praetorian legate. *Pannonia Inferior* was upgraded to consular province under Caracalla (211-217). Under Diocletian (284-305) both provinces were reorganised: *Pannonia Superior* into *Pannonia Prima* in the north (capital Savaria); *Pannonia Ripariensis* or *Savia* in the south (capital Siscia); *Pannonia Inferior* into *Valeria* in the north (main centers: Aquincum and Sopianae); and *Pannonia Secunda* in the south (capital Sirmium).

Mursa (Osijek)

Mursa was founded on the site of an earlier Celtic settlement at the end of 1st century BCE. Under Hadrian, in 133 CE, the town was made *colonia* under the name *Colonia Aelia Mursa*. Mursa was the seat of the praetorian legate of *Pannonia Inferior* and, although for a short period, the prefect of Danube navy resided there. A strategic bridge was built over the river Drava not too far from the town. In 351 CE Constantius II (337-361) defeated the usurper Magnentius near Mursa.

Pan1. Synagogue inscription (Pl. VII, fig. 1)

Editions: Pinterović 1960, 28–9; Pinterović 1965, 61–74 (from the stone); Radan 1973, 266–7 (from the stone); CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.678a; Šašel 1978 = ILJug ii, no.1066; Pinterović 1978, 63–5; Selem 1980, 258–61 (follows Pinterović); Scheiber 1983, 51–5 no. 8 (follows CIJ).

Illustrations: Pinterović 1965 (photo), Radan 1973, fig.1 (photo), Pinterović 1978, pl. XIII.1 (photo); Scheiber 1983 (photo).

Other bibliography: Mócsy 1968, 370; Mócsy 1974, 228; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 73.

Found in Osijek. Now: Museum of Slavonia, Osijek (Croatia).

Details: Marble plaque, 85 x 62 x 11 cm., broken into three, with a gap between ll.5–6 of the inscription; left part missing. Letters: 6–4 cm. Inscription in recessed field.

Language: Latin. Date: 198–210 CE.

Text (follows CIJ and photo):

[Pro salute im]p(eratorum)	
[L(ucii) Sept(imii) Severi Pe]rtinacis,	
[et M(arci) Aur(elii) Antonini] Aug(ustorum)	
[[et P(ubl[ii]) Sep(timii) Getae nob(ilissimis) Cae(saris)]]	
[et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris cast]rorum	5
[- - - - - ?Secu]ndus	
[- - - - - pro]seucham	
[- - - - - vetu]state	
[collapsam a so]lo	
[restituit].	10

1. JPP on stone. Abbreviation points inscribed after each P in PP

1. Pinterović: [*Pro salute im]p(eratorum) p(iissimorum)?*]

2. A small I, originally missed by the stone cutter, is inscribed in the C of [*Pe]rtinacis*

2. ILJug: [*Imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pe]rtinacis*]

3. AVG on stone; abbreviation points inscribed after the each G

3. CIJ: *Aug(ustorum)*

4. ILJug: [*et L(uci) Septimi Getae nob(ilissimis) Caes(aris)]]*]

5. ILJug: [*et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris Aug(usti) et cas]trorum*]

6. Pinterović: [*Sex(tus)? Val(erius)? Secu]ndus*]

7. Final M in [*pro]seucham* considerably smaller than the other letters.

7. Pinterović: [*Praepositus?*]

8. Pinterović, Scheiber: [*Iudaeorum? vetu]state*]

9. Point inscribed after O

9. ILJug: [*corruptam sumptu suo a so]lo*]

10. Pinterović: [*imp(ensis)? suis? exstruxit?*]

10. ILJug: [*restituendam curavit*]

For the well being of the Emperors Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the Augusti [and Publius Septimius Getae, the most noble Caesar] and Iulia Augusta mother of the camps ... [?Secu]ndus ... has restored from the foundations the prayer-house fallen from age.

This inscription was discovered in the 1930⁵ in the old city of Osijek, near the banks of Drava. It is severely mutilated and the reconstruction of most of the lines is problematic. Despite the fragmentary character of the inscription, it has been generally accepted as an evidence for the existence of a Jewish community in Mursa.¹ Three other Jewish dedications for the welfare of the Roman emperor are known from Intercisa², Ostia³ and Qatzion in Upper Galilee.⁴ Similar formulae are, however, found in the *proseuche* dedications of Ptolemaic Egypt.⁵

The inscription honours Septimius Severus, his sons Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) and Septimius Geta (189–211) and their mother Iulia Domna (d. 217). The *praenomen* given to Geta in this inscription was most probably his original one Publius because his other known *praenomen* Lucius is not attested epigraphically in Pannonia. His name and title in l.4 were deliberately erased due to the posthumous *damnatio memoriae* (after his murder by Caracalla in December 211 CE). This appears to have been applied on most of the relevant monuments from Pannonia⁶ with only two exceptions: RIU 250 and 1104. Septimius Severus was apparently popular in Mursa and Pannonia in general as evidenced by the several dedications for his well being to Jupiter Dolichenus, Elagabalus, Terra Matris.⁷

Lifshitz considers the letters *PP* in l.1 part of the common abbreviation *IMPP* for *imperatorum*, while Pinterović read the second *P* as an abbreviation of

¹ Pinterović 1965; Radan 1973, 265; Scheiber 1983, 52–5; Mócsy 1974, 228; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 73.

² RIU v 1051.

³ JIWE i 13.

⁴ CIJ ii 972.

⁵ JIGRE 13, 22, 24–25, 117, 125.

⁶ RIU v 1059; RIU iii 640, 864; CIL iii 10269.

⁷ CIL iii 3998, 3232; RIU v 1104; ILJug i 157; Pinterović 1965, 67–8.

piissimorum although in that case the most common form is *piorum* (a gen. pl. of *pius*). Šašel does not supply a reading of this line of the inscription.⁸

AVGG in l.3 is clearly an abbreviation of *Augustorum*, which proves that the emperors honoured in the inscription are Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The only other possibility would be M. Aurelius and L. Verus, but the occurrence of *Pertinacis* in the same line makes it clear that the emperor mentioned is Septimius Severus. He assumed Pertinax's name after his murder in 193 CE.

The reading of *proseucham* in l.6 was suggested to Pinterović by Howard Comfort from Haverford College.⁹ It appears that her reconstruction of the inscription follows very closely the text of Cosmius' dedication from Intercisa. Radan finds the use of the term *proseucha* in this inscription problematic and notes: 'it cannot be interpreted unambiguously as a phrase relating to the Jews in the 3rd and 4th centuries, when already everywhere the denomination synagogue is used.'¹⁰ This statement is an exaggeration. The term was still used to denote a Jewish place of prayer in Egypt¹¹ in the 3rd century and occurs with the same meaning on a 4th century inscription from Panticapeum, the Bosphoran Kingdom.¹² Epiphanius used it in his description of the 'Judaizing' sect of the Messalians in the 4th century.¹³

Pinterović notes that the inscription was built into the wall of the synagogue. The synagogue was probably built in the second half of the 2nd century

⁸ ILJug 1066.

⁹ Pinterović 1965, 71 n.1.

¹⁰ Radan 1973, 267.

¹¹ CPJ 129; 432.

¹² Binder 1999, 385-6.

¹³ Pan. 80.1.

CE.¹⁴ Scheiber's suggestion that it was built during the reign of Hadrian (117–138) cannot be verified.¹⁵

The cognomen *Secundus* occurs on Jewish inscriptions from the Vigna Randanini catacomb, Rome (3rd–4th century)¹⁶ and Larissa in Thessaly (*Ach13*) and the feminine form *Secunda* and *Secundinus* occur on an epitaph from Ostia (1st–2nd century).¹⁷ It is not the only name which would fit, however; Verecundus, for example, is also possible.

The inscription can be dated to the period between January 198 when Caracalla became Augustus and Geta received the title of 'most noble Caesar' (*nobilissimus*)¹⁸ and 210 when he was proclaimed Augustus. The *damnatio memoriae* was implemented in 212. Julia Domna became 'mother of the camps' in 195 CE. Pinterović tentatively dates the inscription to 202 CE and suggests that it commemorates the presence of Septimius Severus and Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) in Pannonia during that year.¹⁹ It is not clear, however, whether the Emperor really visited Mursa as claimed by Pinterović and Selem.²⁰

¹⁴ Pinterović 1965: 70–1.

¹⁵ Scheiber 1983, 53; Radan 1973, 267.

¹⁶ *JIWE* ii 383.

¹⁷ *JIWE* i 14.

¹⁸ *CTh* 10.25.1.

¹⁹ Pinterović 1965, 66–7; Pinterović 1978, 64.

²⁰ Pinterović 1978, 64–5; Selem 1980, 260–1.

Chapter 2

DALMATIA

The Roman province of Dalmatia was created after 9 CE. It encompassed the territory of the Illyricum south of the river Sava and extended eastward almost to the Danube. The province was governed by imperial legates of consular rank who resided at Salonae. Jews are attested archeologically in Dalmatia. A clay lamp bearing the image of a *menorah* was found among the ruins of a Roman villa in Mogorjelo near ancient Naronae (Pl. XXIX, fig. 3). It was, perhaps, left by the builders of the villa. The lamp has been dated to the 4th century CE.¹

In 1960 a Jewish tomb was discovered in the eastern necropolis of ancient Doclea. The tomb (no. 281) is located in the south-east end of the necropolis which includes only pagan burials. The tomb is with north-south orientation and measures 207 x 84 x 86 cm. It is covered with four large stone plates; the tomb is bit larger in the north end, the floor is not square, the south end is closed with a stone slab and a square brick. Two skeletons were found in the tomb, but the excavators were not able to identify their sex (Pl. XXXI, fig. 1). The second skeleton was probably deposited at a later date. The only artefact found in the tomb is *unguentarium* (45.7 cm) made of green glass. A *menorah* with garlands on either side is painted on the north wall of the tomb; a small bird is painted over the right hand garland. The east wall has the painted image of a wreath and there is composition of geometric figures painted on the west wall (Pl. XXXI, figs 2-3).

¹ Imamović 1977, 287-9; 458, no. 244.

The eastern necropolis of Doclea is dated to the mid-4th century CE. The tomb has been dated to the end of the 3rd century or the first half of the 4th century CE.²

Peratovci

Dal1. Epitaph of Arsa

Editions: Sergejevski 1940, 19, no.3; ILJug 1963, no.149.

Illustrations Sergejevski, fig. 3 (photo).

Other bibliography: Katsarov 1950, 234.

Found at Peratovci near Jajce, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now: Franciscan monastery in Jajce, Bosnia-Herzegovina (according to ILJug 1963).

Details: Marble plaque, broken from the right. 110 x 48 x 20 cm., letters: 6.9–3.5 cm.

Language: Latin. Date: 2nd-3rd century CE(?).

Text (follows ILJug 1963):

[D(is)] M(anibus)	
Arsa[e]	
[s]orori e-	
nfilci	
Iose m-	5
emoria p-	
osuic.	

2. ILJug 149: Possibly letter before first A in *Arsa[e]*.
2. There is a horizontal line between A and R in *Arsa[e]*.
- 3–5. ILJug: *enfilciiose=infeliciosae=infelici?*. 1. *infelici*
5. Sergejevski: *Io(---) Se(---)*
- 5–6. 1. *Ioses(?)*, *memoriam*
- 6–7. 1. *posuit*

To the Di Manes. For Arsa unfortunate sister, Joses(?) has placed the memorial.

This inscription was found in 1939 in the Carevo Polje area at the village of Peratovci near Jajce in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cognomen *Arsae* is either of Illyrian or Thracian origin.³

1.5. Sergejevski suggests that the letters *IOSE* were actually the name of the father of the deceased, but does not explain the name further. Katsarov notes that the name

² Cermanović-Kuzmanovic & Srežović 1963/64, 56-61, fig. 1, 2, 3a-b, 4.

³ Alföldy 1969, 156.

should be read as *Ioses*, a form of Joseph (see *Mac8*), and therefore the inscription is to be recognised as Jewish. He is clearly the person who put up the epitaph, Arsa's brother.

11.5–6. *memoriam* is used with the meaning of a 'memorial' and corresponds to the Greek μνημα. It occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Sardinia,⁴ Spain,⁵ Pannonia⁶ and Catania.⁷

The use of the formula *Dis Manibus* makes a 2nd–3rd century CE date for the inscription probable.

Senia (Senj, Zengg)

Dal2. Epitaph of Aurelius Dionysius from Tiberias (Pl. VII, fig. 2)

Editions: Ljubić, A. *VAHD* 8, 16 [not seen]; CIL iii Suppl. 1902, no.10055; CIL iii Suppl. p. 2388, no.175; IGRR i 1906, no.547; CIJ i 1936, no.680; Schwabe 1949, 224–25, no. 13; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p. 61.

Illustrations: Patsch 1900, fig.44 (photo); CIJ i² 1975 (photo); Eventov 1971 (photo).

Other bibliography: Patsch 1900, 100; Bulić 1926/7, 118; Robert 1937, 80; Condurachi 1937, 88; Robert 1946, 107; Eventov 1971, 30; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72–3; Williams 1997, 200, no.34.

Found at Senj (Zengg), Croatia. Now: Museum of Zagreb, Croatia.

Details: Marble stele, broken at the top right corner. A floral(?) decoration is engraved at the upper part of the stone. No measures given.

Language: Latin in Greek characters. Date: 3rd–4th century CE.

Text (follows CIL iii, Suppl. 10055 with corrections by CIL iii, Suppl. p.2388, 175):

Αὐρή<λ>ιους
Διονύσι-
ους Ἰουδεο-
υς Τιβε<ρ>ιήν-
σις ἀν(νορουν) XXXXX φ- 5
ι<λ>ιώρουν τρίου-
ν πατερ.
(*ascia*)

⁴ JWE i 174, 176.

⁵ JWE i 183, 187.

⁶ CIJ 675.

⁷ JWE i 145.

1. ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΥC on the stone.
4. ΤΙΒΕΙΗΝ- on the stone.
- 5-6. ΦΙΛΙΩΡΟΥΝ on the stone.
5. CIL iii Suppl. 10055, Robert 1937, Condurachi, Robert 1946: XXXX
7. Ι. πατήρ

Aurelius Dionysius, a Jew from Tiberias, (aged) 50 years, father of three children.

The stone was found out of context in modern Senj in 1885. Frey mistakenly located the inscription in Salona, but this was corrected by Robert who inspected the stone in the Museum of Zagreb in 1931. In Latin, the text is: *Aurelius Dionysius Iudeus Tiberiensis annorum XXXXX filiorum trium pater* (-n is used twice for final -m). Jewish inscriptions in Latin with Greek characters are frequently found in Rome.⁸ In other parts of the Diaspora they are evidenced only in Venosa⁹, Solva and Aquincum in Pannonia Superior.¹⁰ The deceased man was a Roman citizen descended from someone who obtained Roman citizenship through *Constitutio Antoniniana* as his *nomen* indicates. The name Dionysius (Διονύσιος), together with the feminine form Dionysia (Διονυσία), occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt,¹¹ Cyrenaica,¹² Ostia,¹³ and Rome.¹⁴ It also occurs on papyri from Alexandria and Philadelphia and *ostraca* from Edfu.¹⁵ Jews from Tiberias and Sepphoris in Galilee are also attested at Taenarum (*Ach55*) and Rome.¹⁶

11.5–7. The unusual reference to having three children must indicate that the deceased had claimed through the *ius liberorum* of the Augustan marriage legislation

⁸ JIWE ii 2, 5, 195, 220, 261, 264, 273, 275, 287, 289, 328, 368.

⁹ JIWE i 59–60.

¹⁰ Scheiber 1983, 16-9, no. 1.

¹¹ JIGRE 116, 122, 156.

¹² CJZC 70.

¹³ JIWE i 18.

¹⁴ JIWE ii 218, 293.

¹⁵ CPJ 143.3, 8, 15, 20; 241.2; 294.1; 411.6-7, 30.

¹⁶ JIWE ii 60, 561.

(*Lex Iulia et Papia Poppea*) some advantage such as exemption from public charges or guardianship. A number of privileges and penalties constituted through this law were incorporated in the Theodosian Code and remained in operation until 410 CE.¹⁷ Similar references to the *ius liberorum* occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Rome.¹⁸

Lifshitz identified, though with hesitation, the object beneath the last line of the inscription as incense shovel. It is actually *ascia*, a carpenter's axe, or *dolabra*, a hatched shaped tool, which frequently occurs on pagan and Christian monuments. The symbolism of the *ascia* and the *dolabra* has been widely discussed, but their exact significance is still unclear. According to Susini the *ascia* and the *dolabra* represent the inviolability of the tomb.¹⁹ It has also been suggested that in the case of Christian monuments the *ascia* could represent a *crux dissimilata*, but such a symbolic interpretation will hardly help to explain its occurrence on a Jewish inscription. In many pagan and Christian funerary inscriptions the image of the *ascia* indicated the profession of the deceased.²⁰ Perhaps that is also the case with this inscription, but there is no other evidence to indicate the occupation of Aurelius Dionysius.

Salonae (Split)

Salonae was a Roman *colonia* (from 47 BCE) and after 9 CE became the provincial capital of the new province of Dalmatia. There is archaeological evidence for the existence of a Jewish community there. A medallion made of red glass paste bears the image of a *menorah* with tripod base flanked on the left by a *shofar* and *ethrog* and on the right by a *lulab* (Archaeological Museum of Split,

¹⁷ CTh 8.17.2; CJ 8.58.2.

¹⁸ JIWE ii 486.

¹⁹ Susini 1973, 25-6.

²⁰ Kaufmann 1917, 38; Kajanto 1976, 49-57; Mattsson 1990.

inv.no.I 1482; Pl. XXX, fig. 1).²¹ Other archaeological material includes three clay lamps bearing the image of a *menorah* (inv. nos. Fc 718; 1226, 1466; Pl. XXX, fig. 4). The first lamp was found in 1903 at Salona, the second comes from the area of ancient Asseria (Benkovac) and the third one is of unknown provenance.²² The third lamp has a *menorah* with a spiral base or most probably handles, which is a very rare representation attested in the Balkans only in Perinthos-Heraclaea (*Thr4*). A fragment of marble sarcophagus in the same museum (44 x 30 x 12 cm.) has an image of a *menorah* with lighted lamps on each branch (inv.no. D 254; Pl. XXX, fig. 2). According to Bulić, the fragment was found in the ruins of the 10th-century church of Our Lady of the Island (Gospe od Otoka) on the island Gospin Otok near Salona.²³ The images of menorahs scratched on the walls of Diocletian's palace were, perhaps, left by the builders (Pl. XXX, fig. 3).²⁴

Dal3. Final part of epitaph (Pl. VII, fig. 3)

Editions: Gabričević 1959, 77–80 (from the stone); AE 1959, no.251 (from Gabričević); d'Ors, 1959, 481–2; Gabričević 1959/60, 9–15; ILJug 1963, no.131; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.680a.

Illustrations: Gabričević 1959, pls. XIII–XIV (photo); Gabričević 1959/60 (photo).

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1, 1986, 73; Gabričević 1987, 234–42.

Found at Salona. Now: Archaeological Museum of Split.

Details: Marble stele broken vertically into two pieces. Measures and letters sizes unknown.

Language: Latin. Date: 4th century CE.

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975 and new photo with some restorations proposed in ILJug 1963; the text from the left piece is in italics):

On the stone:

RAMSIQV	SCIAREVOLV
ERITHABE	ATANVMINA
QUITQVIT	ANISIVIIIVDE
IVELCRISSI	SMANISVNVS

²¹ Buljević 1994, 256 no.8.

²² Bulić 1926/7, 119.

²³ Bulić 1926/7, 122.

²⁴ Rismondo 1994, 204–5, pl. XI, nos.245, 247, 270–271, 313, 411.

COLENTES QVOTSIBIFI
 QUESQVE FACERENON
 RINONV
 DEBET

There are eight lines from the inscription on the left fragment and six on the right.

[- - -]ram si qu[is dea]sciare volu-
 erit habe[at ir]ata numina
 quitquit [Rom]ani sive Iude-
 i vel Crissi[(ani) suo]s Manis <colente[s]: unus>
 quesque quot sibi fi- 5
 [e]ri non v[oluit] facere non
 debet.

1. d'Ors: [- - - sepulturam nostr]am si qu[is ex]sciare; ILJug: [- - - hanc sepultur]am; CIJ i²: [Ar]am
1. ILJug: [de]sciare; Gabričević, d'Ors: [exa]sciare
2. d'Ors: habe[ant]; ILJug: habe[bit]
3. 1. *quidquid*
3. Gabričević 1959, CIJ i²: [pag]ani
- 3-4. d'Ors: quitquit [con]<tra hoc fece| rint sive pa>[g]ani
- 3-4. 1. *Iudaei*
- 3-4. d'Ors: quitquit [con]<tra hoc fece>|<rint sive pa>[g]ani sive Iude|i vel Cris[[s]]<i>i[a]<ni quoquo modo>| colente[s suo]s man[[i]]<e>s: unus
- 4-5. *Manis unus* | *colente[s]* on the stone. This is a mistake of the letter cutter who putted *unus* after *Manis* and then continued with *colentes* on the next line.
5. d'Ors, ILJug: *quisque [homo]*
5. 1. *quod*
6. The o in *NON* is very small, apparently omitted and added later.
6. Gabričević: v[ult]
7. d'Ors, ILJug: v[ultid]

... If someone wishes to efface (the inscription/monument) may the gods be angry with him whatever (he is), Romans or Jews or Christians, who honour their dead ancestors. Each one should not do what he does not want to be done to him.

This inscription was found in a mediaeval necropolis uncovered in 1954 during the construction of a road near the church of St. Nicholas in Split. The stone was broken into two pieces and re-used as building material for one of the graves.²⁵

11.1-2. This is a curse against violation of the grave similar to formulae such as *habebit deos iratos*,²⁶ *habeat deos superos et inferos iratos*²⁷ or the Greek

²⁵ Gabričević 1959/60, 10-11.

²⁶ ILS 8181, l. 4 (Mactar).

²⁷ ILS 8198, ll. 12-13; 8202, ll. 6-8 (Rome).

equivalent τοὺς θεοὺς κεχολωμένους ἔχοιτο²⁸ that invoked a divine punishment upon the potential wrongdoer. In a Jewish context similar maledictions appeal to the wrath of the God of Israel as shown on inscriptions from Asia Minor.²⁹

1.3. In his first publication Gabričević restored *[pag]ani*, which was accepted by d'Ors and Lifshitz. However, he later changed it to *[Rom]ani*, which also is the restoration of Šašel in ILJug.³⁰ This reconstruction is plausible as it would be difficult to understand here the term *pagani* in its original meaning of 'countrymen', 'peasants', or 'civilians' as opposed to 'military'.³¹ From the 4th century CE onwards the term acquired a pejorative sense much used by Christian authors to describe the devotees of the Greek and Roman or barbarian cults as opposed to Christians, and this meaning is found in the Theodosian Code.³² *Romani* is a standard designation for the people of Rome i.e the Romans.³³ After Constantinople became the capital of the Roman Empire in 330 CE the corresponding Greek term Ρωμαῖοι was also applied to the Greek population.³⁴ In the early Christian literature the term *Romanus* could designate the Roman church, a Christian or a pagan.³⁵ It is more likely, then, that the author of the curse envisages that the gods of Romans, Jews and Christians will punish the violator of the grave. In a similar way an epitaph probably from Kilise in Pisidia, Asia Minor, refers to the gods of Persians and Greeks.³⁶

²⁸ Strubbe 1994, 81.

²⁹ Strubbe 1994, 98–9, 123–6, nos.12–13.

³⁰ Gabričević 1959–1960, 13–14.

³¹ CTh 7.21.2; CJ 3.28.37; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.18.2; Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.24, etc.

³² Orosius, *Hist.* 6.1.3, 7.28.3, 7.37.2 & 9–11; 7.39.10; CTh 16.7.2, 16.10.20 & 24.

³³ Liv. 1, 25, 9; 13.

³⁴ Cedrenus i, 454. 16.

³⁵ Du Cange v 1733–36, 210.

³⁶ Strubbe 1994, 77 no.12.

1.4. The formula *manis colentes* is usually regarded as pagan.³⁷ It has been noted by Šašel and Lifshitz that the formula in 11.5–7 occurs also in a Christian inscription from Concordia.³⁸

Gabričević dates the inscription to the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds. The implication of the curse is that the tomb was in a mixed burial area.

Dal4. Epitaph of a Samaritan

Editions: Bulić 1902, 88, 142 (380B); Bulić 1904, 166 (3405A); Bulić 1906, 178 (all three fragments arranged by W. Kubitschek); Egger 1926, no.252; ILJug 1963, no.2531.

Other bibliography: Marin 1994, 72.

Found in the Manastirine necropolis, Salona. Now: Archaeological Museum of Split, inv.nos.3405A, 380B, 489B.

Details: Stele broken into three parts, 50 x 25 cm.

Language: Greek Date: 18 August, 539 CE.

Text (follows ILJug 1963 and the restoration of l. 1-2 by Egger 1926):

ἐνθάδε κίτε [Σαμα-]	
ρεῖτισσα Νο[---ἀπό]	
κώμης Πίτο[... θυγάτ-]	
ἡρ Εὐγλω[σσίου, τελευ-]	
τήσασα ἐν [εἰρήνῃ θε-]	5
οὐ πρὸ δε[κ]απ[έντε καλ-]	
ενδῶν [Σ]επτε[μβρίων,]	
ζήσασα καλῶς [ἔτη εἴκο-]	
σι καὶ ἐπτά: ὑπ(ατίας) Ἀπ[πιωνος τ-]	
οὐ λαμπρ(οτάτου), [ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος β'.]	10

1. 1. κεῖται

1–2. ILJug: [Σαμα]ρεῖτις Σανο[... ἀπό]

Here lies the Samaritan No... from the village of Pito... daughter of Euglossius. She passed away in God's peace fifteen days before the Kalends of September, having lived well twenty-seven years. In the consulship of the vir illustris Apion, 2nd year of the indiction-cycle.

This first two fragments (380B, 489B) of the inscription were found in area 20/2 of the Manastirine necropolis and the third one (3405A) was discovered during excavations of the baptistery. Manastirine was the most important cemetery of

³⁷ ILS 6647; Rome: CIL vi.1 10764, 1417.

Salona in Late Antiquity, established in the 4th century CE over the remains of an earlier pagan necropolis. The Manastirene basilica was the main shrine of the martyrs Domnio (first bishop of Salona) and Asterius.³⁹ It is not clear whether the deceased woman was a Christian, but there is nothing in the inscription, which is inconsistent with her being a Samaritan by religion. In the Balkans Jews have been found buried in pagan and Christian necropoleis, for example at Doclea and Thessaloniki (*Mac15*). Samaritans are also attested in inscriptions from Thessaloniki (*Mac19*), Delos (*Ach66-7*), Athens (*Ach35-7*) and Piraeus (*Ach41*).

11. 2-3. If the suggestion of Šašel that there are three letters missing from the name of the deceased woman is accepted her name could be reconstructed as Νόημα, Νομάς, Νομία or Νοθίς.⁴⁰ The *ethnicon* Σαμαρείτισσα could indicate either religious affiliation or geographical provenance. The native village of deceased is so far unknown. She might have taken refuge to Salona after the Samaritan revolts of 484 CE, under Zeno, and in 529 CE under Justinian I (527-565).⁴¹

1.4. The name of the father Euglossius is, perhaps, one of the many Greek names emphasizing certain personal qualities of the bearer, in this case eloquence or good rhetorical skills (εὐγλωσσία). It could also be understood as a *signum*. The name is otherwise unattested in a Samaritan or Jewish context.

11.9–10. The consul mentioned is Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion (d. 577 CE), one of the most prominent members of the Egyptian Apion family.⁴²

³⁸ ILS 8257=CIL v.2, 8738.

³⁹ Delehayé 1933, 255–6; Wilkies 1969, 429–31; Marin 1994, 46–8.

⁴⁰ LGPN i, 338; LGPN ii, 342; LGPN iii.A, 330.

⁴¹ Malalas, *Chron.* 18, 447. Cf. Crown 19, 71–6.

*Unknown provenance***Dal5. Brick fragment**

Editions: Bulat 1965, 17.

Illustrations: Bulat 1965, 18, pl. IV, fig. 11.

Unknown provenance. Now: Museum of Slavonia, Osijek (Croatia), inv. no. 2606.

Details: Tile fragment with reddish colour. Measures: 16.5 x 7.5 x 3.5 cm. Height of letters: 2.3 cm. (שר)

Language: Hebrew. Date: Uncertain.

Text (follows Bulat 1965):

[---]שרי

The Hebrew letters are inscribed on the edge of the tile. This type of tile was used for the building of hypocaust constructions. The letters could be interpreted as a personal name: Sarai (i.e. Sarah), Sharai, Seraiah (שרייה), etc. They could also be part of the term 'lance, javelin' (שרירה) or indicate the number twenty (שרים). Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew are also evidenced in Thessaloniki (*Mac19*), Athens (*Ach36bis*) and Corinth (*Ach49*).

Bulat only notes that most of the bricks and tiles, including the present one, in the collection of the Museum of Slavonia date to the 'Roman period'. No particular date for the inscription has been suggested, but the use of Hebrew in the region is unlikely to be earlier than Late Antiquity.

⁴² PLRE iii.A, 96–8.

Chapter 3

MOESIA

The province of Moesia was officially created in 45/6 CE. In 85/6, during the rule of Domitian (81-96), the province was split into two consular provinces: Superior and Inferior. Jews are rarely attested in Moesia during the Roman and Late Roman periods. The laws of Arcadius and Theodosius II of 397¹ and 420² addressed to the Praetorian Prefects of Illyricum Anatolius (*PP per Illyricum* 397–9) and Philippus (*PP per Illyricum* 420–1) indirectly point to the existence of Jewish communities in the Moesian provinces then.³ Both laws reaffirm the protection of Jews and synagogues against persecution and deliberate destruction. Procopius of Caesarea mentions a watchtower called Ἰουδαῖος among the Danube fortifications in Dacia Ripensis (part of the old province of Moesia Superior), which were renovated during the reign of Justinian I (527–65).⁴ In this paragraph Procopius continues the description of the Danube fortifications, which he started in chapter five. Moving along the military road from Singidunum (Belgrade) to the Danube delta he encountered in the section between the fort of Dorticum and Bononia (Vidin) a tower called Ἰουδαῖος: καὶ πύργον ἓνα, Ἰουδαῖος καλούμενον, φρούριον διεσκευάσατο κεκαλλιστευμένον καλεῖσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι ('And a tower, called Judaeus, which [Justinian] remodelled into magnificent fortress in words and in fact'). It seems that the stronghold was a watchtower built on or near the military road, which ran

¹ CTh 16.8.12.

² CTh 16.8.21.

³ Linder 1987, 197–8, 283–6, nos.25, 50.

from Singidunum (Belgrade), through Viminacium (Kostolac), Bononia (Vidin), Ratiaria (Arčar), Oescus (Gigen), Novae (near Svishtov), and Durostorum (Silistra) to the Danube delta.⁵ This is confirmed by the term πύργος used in the text, which is a Greek substitute for the Latin *turris*. A particular feature of the Roman defense system in Dacia was a type of watchtower built near a small town or village and used as a refuge by the rural population. It could also be used to store agricultural produce, to oversee estates, etc. This type of watchtower usually did not have a permanent garrison.⁶ The tower called Ἰουδαῖος might have been a similar edifice. It was redeveloped into a bigger fortification, described by Procopius as προὔριον – the Latin *castellum*. According to Beševliev the tower was named after a nearby tavern owned by Jews.⁷ His argument is based on the assumption that the correction of the passage by C. Maltretus in the 1663 edition of the *De Aedificiis*, where he substituted the reading of the manuscripts Ἰουδαῖες with the adjective Ἰουδαῖος, is actually inaccurate.⁸ Beševliev suggests that the Greek name of the tower is a transcription of the Latin ablative form with locative meaning - *Iudaeis*, i.e., *Iudaeis* - and thus that the reading of the manuscripts is correct. It is not our purpose to debate the language and style of Procopius, but we should note that similar transcriptions of Latin names are frequently found in his lists of fortifications.⁹ This makes the suggestion of Beševliev strong and convincing. In this case, the name of the watchtower should be translated as 'At the Jews', which agrees with his second argument that it had been named after a nearby tavern. The latter was a common practice in the Roman world

⁴ *de Aed.* 4.6.21. Cf. further Panayotov, A. 'The Jews in the Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire: the Evidence from Bulgaria' in J.M.G. Barclay (ed.) *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (Sheffield; forthcoming).

⁵ Velkov 1959, 169-70; Mirković 1968, 31-32.

⁶ MacMullen 1963, 140-5; Sperber 1976, 359-61.

⁷ Beševliev 1967, 207-8.

⁸ Beševliev 1967, 207.

and fortifications bearing names of taverns and road stations are evidenced in Procopius and elsewhere.¹⁰

In 1893-1894 the then chief rabbi of Bulgaria Mordechai Grünwald discovered in the old Jewish cemetery of Vidin (ancient Bononia) an inscription, which he called 'Latin' and considered Jewish. The text is known only through his publication and subsequent re-publication of S. Rosanes, both in majuscule.¹¹ The text according to Rosanes is: *OVLOM | VUNRLGM | ANNIVS A | RMVOGRV || EOCCLARA | ANMSCR | L[-]JL | BOR*. Grünwald and Rosanes' only evidence that the inscription was Jewish was the name 'Annius' in l. 3, which they read as a Latin transliteration of the Hebrew name *Hanania* (Ananias). However, there is nothing particularly Jewish about this name; it was popular *nomen* in the Roman world.¹²

Oescus (Gigen)

Oescus on the Danube was the only city in Moesia to receive the status of a colonia under Trajan (*Colonia Ulpia Oescus*). The city is located at mouth of the River Oescus (modern Iskar) and was an important military and trade centre. In 328 CE a bridge over the Danube was built near-by the city. From the 4th century it was made an Episcopal seat.¹³ Oescus is the only city in Moesia with clear evidence of a Jewish presence. Apart from the two inscriptions below, a person called *Sanbationis* is mentioned on another epitaph from Oescus, but it is not clear whether it is used in Jewish or Christian context.¹⁴

⁹ For example the names of the following forts in *De aed.* IV, 4, ed. Haury 121, 41; 121, 44; 123, 1: Βαρβαρίες (Barbaris), Ἑταιρίες (Haeteris), Δουλίαιρες (Doliaris).

¹⁰ Miller 1916, XLVIII; Beševliev 1967b, 105-11.

¹¹ Grünwald 1894; Rosanes 1926/27, 382-3; Rosanes 1928, 255.

¹² Solin & Salomies 1994, 16

¹³ On the history of Oescus cf. Danov, H. 'Oescus', *RE* xvii.2 1934, cols. 2033-8; Velkov 1959, 74-5.

Moes1. Epitaph of Joses (Pl. VIII, fig. 1)

Editions: Katsarov 1912/13, 195–6, no.3; Katsarov 1914, 276; AE 1914, no. 94; Seure 1920, 162; Schwabe 1935, 19–25; CIJ i 1936, no.681; Dobó 1940, 40 no.196; Kochev 1978, 71–4; Scheiber 1983, 57–61; ILBulg 1989, no.67.

Illustrations: Katsarov 1912/13, fig.106 (photo); Dobó; Radan; Kochev (photo); Scheiber 1983 (photo); ILBulg 1969 (photo).

Other bibliography: Robert, 1940, 25, 28; Kittel 1941, 108; Radan 1973, 273–4; Thomas 1977, 24; Tacheva-Hitova 1978, 61; Brooten 1982, 36; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72; Williams 1998, no.VI.18 (English tr.); Minkova 2000, 295.

Found at Oescus (Gigen). Now: Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 5215 (old 112).

Details: Marble stele, upper part cut, 96 x 40 x 36 cm. Letters: 3–2.5 cm. Inscription in recessed field with moulded frame.

Language: Latin. Date: 4th century CE (?).

Text (follows ILBulg 1989 and personal inspection):

[- - - - -]
 Ioses arcisina(gogus?)
 et principales (*hedera*)
 filius Maximini
 Pannoni sibi et 5
 Qyriae coiugi
 sui vivo suo me-
 moria dedica-
 (palm branch) vit. (*hedera*)

1. The existence of l. 1 is debatable; see below.

1–2. Seure: [*nomen etc.*] | [---in ala Pannon(iorum) decur]io ses(quiplicarius) ar(morum) c(ustos) {i} sin(gularis) a q(uaestionibus) [=q(uaestionarius)]

1–2. Gero: [--- decur]io ses(quiplicarius) Arci Sinao

2. IO SESARCISINA on the stone

2. Katsarov, Dobó, Robert, Thomas, Brooten, Scheiber: *Ioses arcisina[gog]o[s]*

3. l. *principalis*(?)

6. l. *Cyriae, coniugi*

7. l. *suae, se*

7–8. l. *memoriam*

...*Joses*, archisynagogos(?) and *principalis*, son of *Maximinus* the Pannonian, for himself and *Cyria* his spouse, dedicated the memorial while he was alive.

The inscription was discovered during excavations in Oescus in 1911–12.

Although initially Katsarov declined to reconstruct the first surviving line of the inscription, he conceded, after a letter sent to him by Dessau, that it contained the Jewish name *Ioses* and an abbreviation of the title *archisynagogos*. Schwabe and

¹⁴ ILBulg 1989, no. 119.

most other scholars accepted this reading. It was challenged by Cagnat & Besnier (in AE), Seure, Gerov and recently by Kochev. Cagnat & Besnier (in AE) and Kochev declined to reconstruct the missing part of the inscription while both Seure and Gerov read the letters *IO* as part of the missing title *decurio* and suggested the letters *SES* should be understood as an abbreviation of the military title *sesquiplicarius*. Gerov also proposes that the rest of the letters indicate the place of origin of the deceased: Synaos in Phrygia.

1.2. The reading of the name of the deceased as *Ioses* and the word *arcisina* as abbreviated form of *archisynagogos* is still hotly debated among modern scholars. The symbol, considered by most scholars a Greek *omicron* and inscribed in the frame was most probably added by a later hand. The symbol is much smaller than the letters of the inscriptions and it is not clear whether it is a letter or not; it could be interpreted as an abbreviation mark. Most modern readers favour the Jewish character of the inscription and read the name of the deceased as *Ioses*, a form of Joseph, which was popular among Jews. In the Balkans it occurs in inscriptions from Argos (*Ach51*) and Coronea (*Ach53*) and Jajce (*Dal1*). Seure and Gerov have assumed that the letters *IO* are more probably part of the lost first line of the inscription, which makes the reconstruction of the name *Ioses* problematic. This was observed first by Katsarov, who noted the inscription had been re-used at a later date when the upper part of the stone was cut and rounded with a round hole bored in the middle.¹⁵ The inscription was possibly re-used as the base of a statue. However, there is no trace of the proposed first line of the inscription. There is a clear gap, although a small one, between the letters *IO* and the rest of the line, but this could be a mistake of the stone-cutter who miscalculated the available space. Thus, the reading of the name *Ioses* is

¹⁵ Katsarov 1912/13, 195.

possible. The missing line could have included his *praenomen* and *nomen*. Moreover, the letters *SINA* appear to be written over an erasure, which could suggest that the stone-cutter found it difficult to write the word *archisynagogos* and had to correct himself. The spelling of *ARCISINA* for *ARCHISYNA* is not surprising because the word *archisynagogos* was not normally written in Latin and there was no standard spelling (or abbreviation).¹⁶

1.3. The office of *principales* held by 'Joses' also poses a problem for the interpreter. Robert treated it as the Latin equivalent of the otherwise unknown Greek title ἀρχηγός. Rajak & Noy understand it as *principalis*, 'leading decurion' in the civilian sense. However, since the beginning of the 1st century CE Oescus was the home base of *Legio V Macedonica*. The town hosted the headquarters of the legion and it is likely that 'Joses' was a non-commissioned officer, i.e. *principales*.¹⁷ The military title *principalis* / *principales* is rarely attested in inscriptions.¹⁸ Jews are rarely mentioned in inscriptions or literary sources as army officers, leading decurions or holding other high position in the public administration or the army, but Jerome (340/2-420) observed there were still Jewish senators living in Britain, Gaul and Spain during his own time.¹⁹ Concerning the service of Jews in the Roman army, since there was no general law of exemption from military service of those Jews who were Roman citizens, it is natural to suggest that they were considered eligible for recruitment in the army. The notorious episode of 19 CE, however, when 4000 Jewish men from Rome were deliberately enrolled by Tiberius (14-37) to serve in Sardinia, demonstrates the way in which a Roman citizen can be expelled from the city, but reveals nothing about the

¹⁶ Cf. *arcosynagogos* in JIWE i 20.

¹⁷ Dig. 49.16.13.

¹⁸ CIL v 1693; CIL ix 1608.

attitude of Jews towards military service.²⁰ It also is true that in certain places, such as Ephesus and Delos, members of the Jewish communities were granted the privilege not to serve in the army; but these exemptions were always local and temporary.²¹ In this way, Scheiber's view that the number of Jews in the Roman army increased after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniana* in 212 CE under Caracalla (198-217 CE) seems plausible.²² The decrees of Arcadius (395-408), Theodosius II and Honorius (408-450), from 404 CE²³ and 418 CE²⁴, which banned the Jews and the Samaritans from service in the Imperial administration and the army, indirectly point to the fact that these opportunities had been pursued by a certain number of Jews. Thus, we find a centurion in Egypt²⁵ and, according to Applebaum, a couple of 'renegade' Jews serving in the Roman army are referred to in the Midrash Genesis Rabbah.²⁶ A late 4th-early 5th century epitaph from Sardinia records a unit of Emessene Jews²⁷ and according to Sulpicius Severus (360-420/5) many Jews served in the army during his own time.²⁸

1.4. The name Maximinus is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions and papyri. According to Minkova *Qyria* is most probably a Latin rendering of the Greek name Κυρία(ς). An inscription from Rome records Νεβία Κυρία, i.e. Naevia Kyria.²⁹ The form *Cyriati* occurs at Rome.³⁰ Κυρία/Κυρίας also occurs at Beth Shea'rim.³¹

¹⁹ In *Isaiam* 18, 66.20.

²⁰ Josephus, *AJ* 18, 84; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.85, 4; Suetonius, *Tib.* 36; Stern, *GLAJJ* ii 1974-84, nos. 284, 306.

²¹ Josephus, *AJ* 14.223-30, 236-7.

²² Scheiber 1983, 14; Rabello 1980, 725-8

²³ CTh 16.8.18.

²⁴ CTh 16.8.24.

²⁵ CPJ ii 1960, no. 229.

²⁶ Applebaum 1971, 182, n. 16.

²⁷ *JWE* i 6.

²⁸ *Chron.* 2, 3, 6.

²⁹ *JWE* ii 486.

Gerov dates the inscription to the end of 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Moes2. Inscription with menorah (Pl. VIII, figs. 2-4)

Editions: Morfova 1958, 314–15, no.19; IGBulg ii 1958, no.597 ter.

Illustrations: Morfova, figs.13–15 (photo from the stone); IGBulg, pl.134 (photo from the stone).

Other bibliography: BE 1960, 233; CIJ i² 1975, no.681; Kochev 1978, 73; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72.

Found at Oescus (Gigen). Now: Sofia, National Archaeological Museum.

Details: Small piece of white marble, roughly cube-shaped. Measures: 12 x 9 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th–6th century CE(?).

Text (follows IGBulg and personal inspection):

(front)	ωι[- -] ελκι[- -] ασκα[- -] τ[- - -]
---------	---

(side)	(<i>menorah</i>)
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(reverse)	νιος [- -]
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Ligatures: (face): 2. EA; 3. CK

This small, inscribed stone was found at the site of Oescus (Gigen) in the 1950s. It is the only the second Greek inscription found in Oescus. It has been dated as 4th–5th century by Morfova and 5th–6th century by Mihailov in IGBulg, on the basis of the cursive letters inscribed on the front. The original stone was, apparently, broken and side was inscribed with a *menorah* to mark a Jewish grave. That the *menorah* has been added later is clear from its careful composition, which corresponds to the size of the stone (Pl. VIII, fig. 2). Only its side branches survive, but not the base. According to Morfova the letters on the reverse of the stone were added later. The letters on the front and the reverse and the purpose of the stone remain very uncertain.

³⁰ JIWE ii 372.

³¹ BS ii, no.170.

Chapter 4

THRACE

Thrace was established as a Roman province in 45 CE. It was governed by procurators until the reign of Trajan (98-117) when a new system of legates assisted by procurators was established. The legates and the procurators resided at Perinthus, but the administrative centre of the province was Trimontium (Philippopolis). In the earlier period, the defence of the province was controlled by the legate of Moesia. The administration of the province was centralised in στρατηγίαι each under στρατηγός (military commande). Under Diocletian (284-305) the province was split into Europa, with its centre Eudoxiopolis (Selymbria); Haemimontus with centre Hadrianopolis; Rhodope with centre Traianopolis; Thracia with centre Philippopolis.¹

Jews are rarely attested in the province. According to the Byzantine historians and chronographers of the 9th and 10th century a Jewish community existed near the Copper Market (τὰ Χαλκοπρατεῖα) of Constantinople.² It is not possible, however, to tell when it was established in the city. The obscure saying of the tenth century Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως that the Jews had occupied the Copper Market for 132 years, starting from 317 CE, indicates only that Jewish community had been

¹ See further Velkov 1977, 61-77, 114-34.

² Panayotov 2001, 320-25, 328-9. The Copper Market of Constantinople is localised between the church of the Mother of God and the area presently occupied by the mosque Zeynep Sultan Camii. The market played an important role in the city life of ancient Byzantium. It was established near the *agora* and subsequently incorporated in the city of Constantine the Great. From the fifth century onwards the Copper Market is recorded as located in the fourth region of Constantinople alongside the city's Basilica, the baths of Zeuxippos, St Sophia, the Augusteon, Magnaura, the Senate, and the golden Milion.

established in Byzantium / Constantinople at, and possibly before, the actual dedication of the city in 330 CE.³ The other sources, however, which are related to the new foundation of the city by Constantine the Great, do not provide such information. We are somewhat more fortunate with other aspect of the evidence from the Πάτρια, which states that these Jews were traders of copper handiwork. Theophanes and the later sources unanimously associate the Copper Market with the Jewish merchants.⁴ It is possible to consider the Jewish establishment in the Copper Market as a community of artisans selling their own products. Similar quarters, occupied by artisans, are well evidenced in Constantinople.⁵ The evidence of the Byzantine historians and the Christian legends associated with the sanctuaries in the Copper Market support the possible identification of the area as the Jewish quarter of the city.⁶ The accounts of the presence of a synagogue on the Copper Market suggest that we are probably dealing either with a communal building or with the building of *collegia*, a professional association of Jewish artisans. The synagogue was converted into the famous church of the Mother of God in the Copper Market (Θεότοκος τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων), most probably, by Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II, in 449 CE.⁷ The church is situated about 150 m. west of St Sophia and north of the city Basilica. In modern Istanbul the site is identified with the mosque Acem Ağa Mescidi, built over its eastern side, while the surrounding buildings cover the south aisle as well as the baptistery of the church in the north. Nothing survives from the

³ Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως III, 32, ed. Preger 1907, 226-227.

⁴ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 5942, ed. De Boor 1885, 102.

⁵ See Janin 1964, 94-9 for list of the artisan quarters in Constantinople.

⁶ Panayotov 2001, 330-1.

⁷ Panayotov 2001, 327-8, 331-2.

original building of the church, i.e. the converted synagogue, especially after the extensional rebuilding work done by Justin II and Basil I (876-886).⁸

The literary evidence for the presence of Samaritans in Thrace is very scarce and in most cases its historical validity can not be verified. According to the legendary story preserved in the *Kitab al-Tarikh* of Abu'l Fath, Baba Rabbah went to Constantinople and died there. Later, his son Levi also went there and was honoured by the Byzantine Emperor.⁹ According to Procopius of Caesarea, Ausonius, one of the favourites of the Empress Theodora, was also a Samaritan.¹⁰

Philippopolis (Trimontium, Plovdiv)

Philippopolis was founded by Philip II in 342 BCE on the site of an ancient Thracian settlement (Pulpudava). It was made the administrative centre of the Roman province of Thrace under the name Trimontium and the provincial assembly met there. The city was an important military, trade and economic centre situated on the crossroads of the central road from Vindobona to Byzantium/Constantinople and the roads to Oescus and Nicopolis ad Nestum. It acquired the statute of a colony in 248 CE and was provided with a circuit wall during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). Philippopolis was captured temporarily and sacked by the Goths in 251 CE, but later recovered and was made an episcopal seat in the 4th century CE. In 343 a counter-synod was held in the city in opposition to the one that had been held in Serdica. The city's fortifications were repaired and enlarged during the reign of Justinian I (527-565).

⁸ *Vita Basilii* included in *Theophanes Continuatus* 5, 93 (PG 109, 356A-B).

⁹ Crown 1989, 210, n. 88

¹⁰ Procopius, *Anecdota* 27, 6-7

Bibliography for synagogue: Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 210–26; Kesjakova 1989, 20–33; Koranda 1988/9, 218–28; Hachlili 1998, 55; Kesjakova 1999, 76–82; Levine 2000, 251–2.

The synagogue was discovered accidentally in 1981 during the construction of a block of flats at 21 Maria Luisa Blvd (old Lilyana Dimitrova) in Plovdiv. Although the urban plan of the Roman city is still not very well studied the synagogue occupied, according to Kesjakova, an *insula* in what appears to be a residential quarter situated south-east of the forum. Excavations revealed a rectangular structure, measuring 13.5 m. (north–south) by 14.2 m. (east–west), with a main hall 9 m. wide, and two aisles each 2.6 m. wide (Pl. V). It is not clear, however, whether the aisles of the original building were separated from the central hall by a wall or colonnade. Kesjakova, followed by Levine, suggests that the building had a basilical plan similar to that of the synagogues of Japhia and Huseifa. The orientation of the building is north–south with a large forecourt, measuring 360 m.² and floor covered with plaster, on the north side. Kesjakova reports that column bases were found in the forecourt, and suggests that it was separated from the main entrance of the synagogue by a colonnade.¹¹ The whole area covered by the synagogue is 650 m². Two large, but partially destroyed, mosaic floors were discovered in the main hall of the building. Images of a *menorah* and a bunch of the ‘four species’ (*lulab*, *ethrog*, willow and myrtle) and three Greek inscriptions are preserved in the first mosaic floor (Pl. X, fig. 2; Pl. XII, fig. 1). The surviving parts from the second mosaic floor suggest that it was decorated predominantly by geometric figures. According to Kesjakova the synagogue was built in the first half of the 3rd century, partly destroyed by the

¹¹ Kesjakova 1989, 29; Kesjakova 1999, 76.

Goths in 250–1 CE,¹² and restored in the first decade of the 4th century. Some time in the early 5th century, the entire complex was badly damaged. It was rebuilt soon after that with several alterations to the original plan: extension of the east and west walls in the courtyard thus enlarging the building space, new mosaic floor and construction of a well or fountain – not a *miqveh* as suggested by Koranda.¹³ The reconstruction is also shown by two plaster covers of the forecourt's floor, and by the different level of the two water channels underneath. It is not clear, however, whether the new building continued to be used as a synagogue. It was finally destroyed in the late sixth century.¹⁴

Although the area surrounding the synagogue is largely unexplored, the available evidence suggests that it was a private residential quarter. Kesjakova reports a huge domestic building next to the synagogue, in the same *insula*, which has never been fully explored. This building was built in the 2nd or early 3rd century, destroyed during the Gothic invasion of 250–1, and rebuilt afterwards with no alterations to the original building plan.¹⁵ A small private bath and a hypocaust installation, both dating from the 4th or 5th century, discovered in the same area may have been part of the same complex.¹⁶ Furthermore, a residence (the so-called 'Narcissus' residence) with an almost identical architectural plan was discovered in the *insula* situated east of the synagogue and dated to the same period as its first building, i.e. the middle of the 3rd century. This residence had several farm and domestic structures, a hypocaust heating

¹² On the siege of Philippopolis by the Goths in 250–1, see Ammianus Marcellinus, 31.5.17; Dexippus, *Fragmenta* 20 in FHG iii, 678–9; Jordanis, *Getica* 103; Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 1.23. Further, Apostolidis 1927, 187–194; Danov 1934, 153–62.

¹³ Kesjakova 1989, 29; Rutgers 1998, 105 *contra* Koranda 1988/9, 219. Fountain is evidenced also in the synagogue of Ostia. Cf. White ii 1997, 379–91.

¹⁴ Kesjakova 1989, 31.

¹⁵ Kesjakova 1989, 32; Kesjakova 1999, 92.

¹⁶ Kesjakova 1999, 88–92.

system and *peristyle* court with pool.¹⁷ It is possible then that Philippopolis synagogue was originally a residential building later converted to synagogue use in a way similar to that of Stobi synagogue (see p. 56). Another possibility is that the synagogue became part of the adjacent residence after the rebuilding, which took place in the 5th century. However, until more information on the excavations is published any further conclusions are premature.

Thr1. Mosaic inscription of Cosmianus Joseph (Pl. IX, figs 1-3)

Editions: Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 210–26; Danov 1986, 39–43; Danov 1985, 107–23; Kesjakova 1989, 20–33; Donderer 1989, 37; SEG xxxix 1989, no.663.

Illustrations: Danov & Kesjakova 1984; Kesjakova 1989, figs. 4-5; Kesjakova 1994; Kesjakova 1999; Koranda 1988/9; Hachlili 1988, fig.IV-7.

Other bibliography: Kesjakova 1994, 167–9; Koranda 1988/9, 218–28; Koranda 1990, 103–10; Soustal 1991, 402; Rutgers 105–6, 114; Hachlili 1998, 55, 217; Kesjakova 1999, 76–82; Levine 2000, 251–2.

Found in Plovdiv. Now: Plovdiv, Depot of the National Institute for the Monuments of Culture, no inv.no.

Details: Two mosaic inscriptions, from east and west panels, in *tabulae ansatae*, each 160 x 50 cm. Letters: 10 cm (with exception of l. 4 in the east panel)

Language: Greek. Date: Second half of 3rd century CE.

Text (follows Kesjakova 1989 and personal inspection):

(east panel)	(west panel)
ἐκ τῶν τῆς προ[νοίας]	ἐκ τῶν τῆς προ[νοίας]
Κοσμιανὸς ὁ κὲ Ἰωσήφ	Κοσμιαν[ὸς ὁ κὲ Ἰωσήφ]
(hedera) ἐκόσμησεν. εὐλογία	(hedera) ἐκόσμησεν.
πᾶσιν. (hedera)	εὐλογία πᾶσιν. (hedera)

East panel:

4. The letters of πᾶσιν are smaller than the rest of the inscription due to a mistake of the artist who miscalculated the available space in the *tabula*.

From the (gifts) of Providence [or From the (funds) of (his) prudent foresight], Cosmianus also (called) Joseph executed the decoration (of the building). A blessing to all.

¹⁷ Kesjakova 1999, 85–8.

Two rectangular panels, measuring 3 x 3.8 m. each survived from the first mosaic floor. The third one in the centre, also measuring 3 x 3.8 m., was added later. All panels were laid down in front of the synagogue's south wall. The total area covered by the three panels is 34.2 m². A *menorah* and a bunch of the 'four species' associated with the feast of Sukkoth (*lulab*, *ethrog*, willow and myrtle; Lev. 23.40) are represented in the central panel. They are surrounded by five concentric rectangular frames, enriched by different ornaments: among them black triangles and a colourful double wreath of red, orange and green ribbons. Small pomegranates composed of yellow, orange, blue, red and green *tesserae* form the central and side branches of the *menorah*. The height of the *menorah* is approximately 240 cm. The representation of its main body and side branches as made of pomegranates follows in general the prescriptions of Ex. 25.33-6 and is common in monuments from Palestine and the Diaspora.¹⁸ The base of the lampstand is depicted as a concave plate, which is very rare. The menorahs on the Hammath Tiberias mosaic and on the ivory plate from Beth She'an both have a concave plate base, but borne by a tripod of three animal feet.¹⁹ Similar representation can also be seen in wall-paintings on panels WB1 and WB2 at Dura-Europos (mid-3rd century CE).²⁰ The Philippopolis *menorah* is represented with lighted pottery or bronze lamps with their nozzle ends pointing left. A peculiar feature of their depiction is that they have a bird-shaped form. It is impossible, however, to tell whether this was intended by the unknown artist or not (Pl. XI, figs 1-3). The only similar representation is found in the earliest

¹⁸ Similar seven branched lampstands occur on the mosaic floors of Hammath Tiberias, Beth She'an B', Hulda synagogues and in Villa Torlonia catacomb and Pergamon (Hachlili 1988, 242-244; Hachlili 1998, 327, 331, figs. VII-12; 16, Hachlili 2001, 147-57, cat. no. D5.1, D6.1; IS3.1-3.3, IS3.5-3.10; IS4.2; IS11.3; Koranda 1988/89, 220).

¹⁹ Hachlili 1988, 241, fig.8a, pl.101.

manuscript of the sixth century *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. The accompanying picture of his description of the Tabernacle has the Tabernacle menorah with a singing bird on each of the side branches (*Top.Christ.* 5.33).²¹ The west and east panels of the mosaic are filled with floral and geometric patterns. These panels are the only element that has survived from the first period of the building's existence. Danov suggests that the first mosaic floor was laid down after the Gothic invasion and repaired at the beginning of the 4th century,²² at which time the central panel was added.²³

The Greek inscriptions preserved in the first mosaic floor are dedications for the decoration and renovation of the synagogue. The same inscription is shown in the east and west panels, in a *tabula ansata* inside a rectangle. In both panels the *tabula ansata* measures 160 x 50 cm. (excluding the *ansae*). The letters are black on a white background and the *hedera* is also depicted in black. There is a *hedera* in each left-hand *ansa*.

1.1. Kraabel translates the formula ἐκ τῶν τῆς προνοίας as 'from the gifts of Providence', which according to him refers to the God of Israel.²⁴ Although identical phrasing occurs in eleven inscriptions from the synagogue at Sardis,²⁵ the term προνοία was also widely used in Antiquity to refer to the donor's thoughtfulness or foresight in securing funds, usually from his own resources, for a building project, or a ruler's careful forethought for his subjects.²⁶ In the latter

²⁰ Hachlili 1988, 241–6; Hachlili 1998, 323–38, figs.VII 5, VII 10–24; Hachlili 2001, 131–41, cat.no.D1.3–1.4.

²¹ *Sinait. Gr.* 1186, fol.75^v, and *Laur. Plut.* IX, 28, fol.125^r – 130^v, dated to the 11th century (Wolska-Conus 1968, 97–8, 143–4; Wolska-Conus 2, 1970, 58–61).

²² Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 211–2; Danov 1986, 39–43.

²³ Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 212–5.

²⁴ Kraabel 1996, 75–96; Martin 1982, 7–30.

²⁵ Kroll 2001, nos.12, 16–17, 19–24, 58, 66.

²⁶ For example SEG xxxii 1385, l.8 (cult inscription for Antiochus I Soter (281–61 BCE); SEG xxxiv 94 (Athenian decree honouring magistrates *epi tas prosodous*, 181–0 BCE); SEG xxxviii 74, l.10

case, the Latin *providentia* was venerated as one of the most important attributes of the Emperor from the time of Augustus.²⁷ It is not possible to be precise under what influence *προνοία* was used in Philippopolis and Sardis. Although Kraabel prefers to think that there is a single source, the Greek philosophical concept of Providence, which influenced the use of *προνοία* in Sardis, this is not so clear in the case of Philippopolis. It is worth noting that in Sardis we also find another formula known from Jewish (*Ach58*) and Christian benefactor's inscriptions: *ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεῶν* ('from the gifts of God').²⁸ It occurs twice on fragments from Bay 7 of the Sardis synagogue.²⁹ The fact that both formulae are used at Sardis suggests that both were available and if someone used 'Providence' it was because they meant something different from if they used 'gifts'. However, the use *προνοία* offered a convenient way to Sardis Jewry to keep and use both the Greek and Jewish concepts of divine Providence, which was not the case with the 'gifts' formula.³⁰ The situation in Philippopolis seems to be different. *προνοία* is attested only once in inscriptions from Philippopolis and its territory. In an inscription from the Asclepion at the village of Batkun, territory of Philippopolis, certain Sebastianos dedicates a statue to Asclepius specifying *ἐκ προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέστησεν δὲ τόδε ἄγαλμα* ('from the (gifts of) providence of god he raised this statue').³¹ He, most likely, erected the statue from his own funds, which he regarded as due to divine favour. It is likely, then, that the formula

(Athenian decree in honour of Komeas, ca. 280–70 BCE); SEG xli 1593 (building inscription for the Roman province of Arabia, 2nd–3rd century CE); ibid. 1668 (honorary inscription, possibly from Edfo, 16 October 296 CE); SEG xlii 1318, 1.4 (dedication of a gate from Chalkis, Syria, 550–1 CE), etc.

²⁷ Charlesworth 1936, 107–22; Martin 1982, 103–39, 308–65.

²⁸ Rajak 1998, 230–40.

²⁹ Kroll 2001, nos. 29–30.

³⁰ Rajak 2001, 458–60.

³¹ Il. 4-5; IGBul iii 1961, 125-6, no. 1134.

ἐκ τῶν τῆς προνοίας in Philippopolis also refers to funds secured from the donor's own possessions, whether the providence was his own or God's.

1.2. The inscription preserves the name of Κοσμιανός (Cosmianus) called Ἰωσήφ (Joseph). Danov understands Joseph as the by-name of the benefactor Cosmianus. The use of the spelling ὁ κὲ instead of the usual ὁ καὶ is a clear indication of a 3rd century (or later) date for the inscription.³² The phrase was widely used in the Ancient World to introduce an additional name.³³ The practice of acquiring a by-name was not uncommon among Jews in the Diaspora and Roman Palestine. In most cases the preferred by-name was Semitic, but there also is evidence for Jews using a Greek name as a by-name from Beth She'arim,³⁴ Alexandria³⁵ and Aphrodisias.³⁶ In some cases the proper and the by-name were both Greek (e.g. Malta, 4th–5th century).³⁷ Jews using a by-name are frequently found on inscriptions and papyri from Edfu,³⁸ Aphrodisias³⁹ and Rome⁴⁰ in the Diaspora and Beth She'arim in Roman Palestine.⁴¹ There are several instances of this practice in Josephus and the New Testament.⁴² There are four other cases from the Balkans of the usage of by-names by Jews: inscriptions from Stobi (*Mac1*), Philippi (*Mac14*) and Thessaloniki (*Mac16*, *Mac17*).

Danov suggested Cosmianus, together with other forms of Cosmos like Cosmia, Cosmius, Cosmis etc., was a preferred name (or by-name) among Jews and other

³² Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 209–11.

³³ Horsley 1992, 1012–13; Williams 1995, 89, 106–9.

³⁴ BS ii, nos.121, 199.

³⁵ JIGRE 6.

³⁶ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, b20, 28; JIWE ii 104, 338.

³⁷ JIWE i 166.

³⁸ CPJ ii 223, 248, 298, 304, 311, 321.

³⁹ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, b30.

⁴⁰ JIWE ii 60, 108, 217, 276, 534, 551.

⁴¹ BS ii, no.191.

⁴² Josephus *BJ* 1, 99; *AJ* 12.43, 385; 13.10, 131; 20.240; Luke 6.15; 8.2; 22.3; Acts 1.23; 4.36; 11.13; 12.12; 13.1; 15.22; 15.37, etc.

natives from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.⁴³ However, this appears not to be the case. The name Cosmianus occurs in an inscription from Intercisa⁴⁴ dated between 222 and 235 and a woman named Cosmia is mentioned in a papyrus from Fayûm (240 BCE); it is not clear whether she is Jewish or not.⁴⁵ In non-Jewish context Cosmianus appears in a list of ephebes from Athens (Κοσμιανὸς Θρασύνων), dated 177–8 CE, and in a dedication to Taras from Tarentum, dated to the 2nd century, where the word is one of the epithets of the deity.⁴⁶

1.3. Danov, followed by Koranda, took ἐκόσμησεν as an indication that the synagogue was found in disorder by Cosmianus Joseph, who provided funds not only for the mosaic floor, but also for the renovation of the building. He suggests that this inscription is evidence of the restoration of the synagogue building after the Gothic invasion of 250–1 CE. However, Kesjakova assumes that the synagogue was built during the reign of Alexander Severus (222–35) and dates the inscription to the same period.⁴⁷ Her assumption is based on the common opinion among modern scholars that the emperors of the Severan dynasty were sympathetic towards Judaism.⁴⁸ However, the many problems associated with the source of that assumption, the *Historia Augusta*, are still not solved and it is preferable to deal with the information included there cautiously.⁴⁹ Moreover, a considerable influx of

⁴³ Danov and Kesjakova 1984, 212–13; Pape & Benseler 1, 1911, 703; Bechtel 1917, 254–5. See Hatch & Redpath 2, 1898, 780–1, and Bauer 1958, 879–84, for the occurrence of the name in the LXX and other Greek versions of the Old Testament.

⁴⁴ RIU v 1991, no. 1051.

⁴⁵ CPJ 36.

⁴⁶ IG ii² 2160, 47; Ag. xxi, 45, no. F 231 (graffiti on a black glazed bowl).

⁴⁷ Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 210–2; Kesjakova 1989, 30.

⁴⁸ Stern, GLAJJ ii 1974–84, 513–15.

⁴⁹ Gager 1973, 93–7; Liebmann-Frankfort 1974, 587–98.

eastern immigrants under the Severi is attested only in Pannonia, but not in the Balkan provinces.⁵⁰

11.3–4. The final ‘blessing’ formula εὐλογία πᾶσιν occurs quite often in Jewish inscriptions, e.g. the synagogues of Aegina (*Ach*59) and Apamea (CIJ ii 803) and appears in epitaphs from Perinthos-Heraclea (*Thr*4), Rome (3rd–4th century),⁵¹ Nicomedia in Bithynia (Arnautköy) and Byblos.⁵² Robert accepted that it was exclusively Jewish.⁵³

Thr2. Mosaic inscription of Isaac (Pl. X, fig. 1)

Editions: Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 210–26; Kesjakova 1994, 170 (a note by A. Ovadiāh); Danov 1986, 39–43; Danov 1985, 107–123; Kesjakova 1989, 20–33; Donderer 1989, 37; SEG xxxix 1989, no.663.

Illustrations: Danov & Kesjakova 1984; Kesjakova 1984; Kesjakova 1989, figs. 6, 9; Kesjakova 1999; Koranda 1988–1989; Hachlili 1998, fig.IV-8.

Other bibliography: Koranda 1988/9, 218–28; Koranda 1990, 103–10; Hachlili 1998, 55, 409–410; Kesjakova 1999, 76–82; Levine 2000, 252.

Found in Plovdiv. Now: Plovdiv, Depot of the National Institute for the Monuments of Culture.

Details: Mosaic inscription from central panel. No measures given. Letters: 8 cm. Language: Greek. Date: First half of 4th century CE.

Text (follows Kesjakova 1989 and personal inspection):

(*bunch of lulab, ethrog, myrtle and willow*)
(*menorah*)

ἐ[κ τῶν τῆς	προνο]ίας
ΕΛΛ - -	ὁ κὲ Ἰσαάκ
τὴν κοσμ[ήσιν]	ἐποίησεν
	πό(δας) ρκ'.

Ligatures: 3 THNK, HC; 4 PK

2. Dot after ΕΛ, between I and C and between the two alphas in ICAAK, there is a dot under the first alpha of the name.

1. Ovadiāh: ἐ[κ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρ]ίας

2. Kesjakova, SEG: Ἑλ[λιος]

4. Ovadiāh: Πό(πλιος) ἑκατοντάρχης or χιλιάρχης

4. Donderer: Πρόκλος

⁵⁰ Mócsy 1974, 229.

⁵¹ JIWE ii 292, 301, 459.

⁵² CIJ ii 798, 870.

⁵³ Robert 1946, 108; Robert 1960b, 394–6.

From the (gifts) of Providence [or From the (funds) of (his) prudent foresight], Ell... also (called) Isaac made the decoration of 120 feet (of mosaic).

The inscription occupies the space beneath the menorah's base in the central panel of the Philippopolis mosaic. The inscription uses cursive letters and many ligatures, which is not to be found in *Thr1*. This, according to Danov, could help us to date the inscription to the first half of the fourth century.⁵⁴ Although the middle part of the central screen is severely damaged, according to Kesjakova the first line of the inscription contained the same opening formula as the inscriptions from the side panels. Here, again, ἐκ τῶν τῆς προνοίας can be interpreted as a reference to the God of Israel or to the donor's prudence in securing funds for execution of the mosaic (see *Thr1*).

1.2. Kesjakova suggests that the first name of the benefactor has to be reconstructed as Ἑλλιος a form of Αἴλιος – a Graecized form of the Roman *gens* Aelius.⁵⁵ The name Ἑλλιος is attested only once in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.⁵⁶ Hachlili reconstructs it as Elias, but the state of preservation of the inscription does not allow any certain reading.⁵⁷ The second *lambda* in the name could also indicate that the name was part of the large group of names based on the *ethnicon* Ἑλλην or Ἑλλάς.⁵⁸ By far the most popular name was Ἑλλάνικος. Names formed on the basis of Ἑλλην occur in Jewish inscriptions and papyri. Thus, the names Helene and Helles in Rome⁵⁹, Helene is evidenced in Assenovgrad (*Thr5*) and Hellen and Helenos occur in *ostraca* and papyri from Egypt. The reconstruction of the second name of the benefactor as Ἰσαάκ by

⁵⁴ Danov & Kesjakova 1984, 209, 221; Kesjakova 1989, 26–7.

⁵⁵ Kesjakova 1989, 26; Pape & Benseler 1911, 35.

⁵⁶ Wuthnow 1930, 45.

⁵⁷ Hachlili 1998, 409.

⁵⁸ Pape & Benseler 1911, 349–54; LGPN i, 149–50; LGPN ii, 141; LGPN iiii, 140; LGPN iiib, 131–2.

⁵⁹ JWE ii 32, 279.

Kesjakova is less problematic, and this was probably a second name introduced by 'also called', as in *Thr1*. It is worth noting that in this case as in the Cosmianus's inscription (*Thr1*) the Hebrew name does not have a case ending.

1.4. There has been considerable divergence in the reading and interpretation of this line. Ovadiah suggests it was the monogram of yet another benefactor called Πόπλιος i.e. Publius, holding the army office of ἑκατοντάρχης (*centurion*) or χιλιάρχης (*tribunus militum*). Donderer and Hachlili interpret it in a similar way, but according to them it was the monogram of the artist responsible for the execution of the mosaic.⁶⁰ Donderer has his name as Πρόκλος. However, as Kesjakova, followed by Koranda, suggests this is an abbreviation that provides information about the size of the mosaic floor donated by Isaac.⁶¹ Thus, it should be read as πόδας ρκ', i.e. 120 feet of mosaic – approximately 35 m². Similar abbreviations indicating the size of the mosaic floor donated occur in twelve inscriptions from the synagogue of Apamea⁶², and this donation is on a similar scale to the larger Apamean ones.

Bizye (Vize)

Bizye was the capital of the last Odrysian dynasty and centre of the Roman client kingdom of the Asti until 44 CE. After the 3rd century CE the city is rarely mentioned in the sources. It is not mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea in the list of cities renovated during the reign of Justinian I (527-565), but continued to exist during the Middle Ages.⁶³

⁶⁰ Hachlili 1998, 409.

⁶¹ Kesjakova 1989, 27; Koranda 1990, 103–10.

⁶² Lifshitz 1967, 42-5, nos. 41-53

Thr3. Epitaph of Rebecca (Pl. XII, fig. 2)

Editions: Dawkins & Hasluck 1905/6, 179–80, no.5; Kalinka 1906, 125–6, no. 11; Oehler 1909, 538 no.94a; Seure 1919, 358–9, no.180; Krauss 1922, 241, no.87a; CIJ i 1936, no.692; Robert 1946, 107–8; Brooten 1982, 41–2; Asdracha 1998, 338–9, no. 161.

Illustrations: Dawkins & Hasluck (drawing; also in Brooten, pl.IV & Asdracha 1998, 339).

Other bibliography: Melissenos 1881 [not seen]; Juster i 1914, 187; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72; Trebilco 1991, 111; Williams 1998, no. II.55 (English tr.); Brooten 2000, 217–8.

Found at Vize, Turkey. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Grey marble stele, broken below, 56 x 25 x 26 cm (Kalinka); 51 x 24 cm (Seure); 23 cm. wide (CIJ). Letters: 2.2 cm.; guidelines between lines of lettering.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th–5th century CE or later.

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

(*ethrog*)
 μνῆ(*menorah*)<μ->
 α 'Ρεβέκα[ς]
 τῆς πρεσ-
 βυτέρας τ-
 ῆς κεκυμη-
 ένης.

5

Ligatures: 1 MNH; 3 HC; 5 HM

1. Kalinka: μνί -ter-ς

1. Asdracha: μνί[μ]-CI

1–2. Brooten: μνῆ(μ-)σια

2. Kalinka: 'Ρεβέκα-

5–6. 1. κεκοιμημένης

Tomb of Rebecca the presbytera, who has fallen asleep.

Melissenos reported the inscription in his brochure on the history of the Orthodox Church in Eastern Thrace published in 1881. Some years later in 1895, Kalinka recorded the inscription in the forecourt of the Orthodox church at Turkish Vize. It was consequently moved, together with several others, to the courtyard of Greek school where it was recorded by Richard Dawkins, on ethnographic field trip in the region, in 1906.⁶⁴

⁶³ Velkov 1977, 120–1.

⁶⁴ Dawkins 1906, 192–3.

1.2. The name Rebecca is not much attested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri from the Diaspora. It occurs only in two epitaphs from Rome, both dated to the 3rd or 4th century.⁶⁵

11.3–4. The title *πρεσβυτέρα* held by Rebecca is found in three epitaphs from Venosa dated to the 5th century, a 4th or 5th century one from Malta, and inscriptions from Crete (cf. *Cre3*), Tripolitania and Nocera.⁶⁶ According to Krauss the title indicates that the deceased woman was a wife of a presbyter.⁶⁷ Juster, commenting on the structure of the council of elders in the Jewish communities, regards the title as a honorary one given to pious and respected women.⁶⁸ Frey suggests that in the case of Rebecca it was used to distinguish her from someone else ‘younger’ of the same name. However, as Brooten, followed by van der Horst, has established this was a title, which a woman could hold in her own right; usually, as in this case, there is no reference to a husband holding a title. The exact function of the office of the *presbyter/-a* (elder) within the Jewish community is difficult to determine, and it seems that its meaning varied from place to place. Its popularity among Jews is clearly indicated by the laws of Constantine from 330 and Arcadius and Honorius from 397 and 399, which list the presbyters, along with the *archisynagogoi* and the Patriarch, among the synagogue leaders. Here again, the exact function of the office remains unclear – it seems that the legislators understood it either as a religious or administrative one.⁶⁹ It is safe to assume, however, that it was an important office within the Jewish community and a *presbyter/-a* may have been a member of its governing body.⁷⁰ If Rebecca held a

⁶⁵ JIWE ii 9, 311.

⁶⁶ JIWE i 59, 62, 71; 163; SEG xxvii 1201; AE 1994, 401.

⁶⁷ Krauss 1922, 144.

⁶⁸ Juster i 1914, 441 n.8.

⁶⁹ C.Th. 16.8.2; 16.8.13; 16.8.14=Linder 1983, nos.9, 27, 30.

⁷⁰ Brooten 1982, 46–52; Levine 2000, 407–8.

specific office, it was perhaps similar to that of the male elders although it is not clear whether the female elders were actually members of the synagogal council.⁷¹ In a Christian context, in the 5th century there were women holding ecclesiastical offices in southern Italy, including that of *presbytera*.⁷²

11.5–6. The final formula *κεκοιμημένης*, a genitive form of the perfect middle participle of *κοιμάω*, is otherwise unattested in a Jewish context. However, it occurs in the New Testament implying a belief in immortality (Mt. 27.52; Jn. 11.11). The formula is undoubtedly of the same class of ‘sleep’ formulae as the Jewish *ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοιμήσις αὐτοῦ/-της/σου* or the mainly Christian *sit pax in requie eius*.⁷³ It may indicate a belief in resurrection, when the ‘sleeper’ will awake.⁷⁴ The term *κοιμητήριον* used to indicate a grave, usually in Christian epitaphs, occurs in three Jewish inscriptions from Athens (*Ach*28–30) and one from Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos) in Thessaly (*Ach*22).

Perinthos-Heraclea (Marmara Erğelisi)

The presence of Jews in Perinthos-Heraclea is possibly attested in the *Passio* of St Philip, bishop of Heraclea, which describes his martyrdom that took place during the persecution of Diocletian or Galerius (305–11). The text of the *Passio* was, perhaps, composed in the 5th or 6th century.⁷⁵

Thr4. Epitaph of Eugenius (Pl. XII, fig. 3)

Bibliography: Kalinka 1926, 191 no.146; Robert 1937, 82; Robert 1946, 108; Robert 1960, 394–5, n.8; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.692a; Sayar 1998, 373 no.228.

⁷¹ Brooten 1982, 55; van der Horst 1991, 106–7; Williams 1998, 43.

⁷² JIWE i 59; cf. Horsley 1976, no.79; Mentzu-Meimaris 1982, 450.

⁷³ JIWE i, pp.337–8; JIWE ii, pp.544–5.

⁷⁴ van der Horst 1991, 115–18.

⁷⁵ The martyrdom actually took place in Hadrianopolis. *ASS* 50.9, col. 546; de' Cavalieri 1953, 65, 130, 144, l. 7; Delehye 1933, 242–5.

Illustrations: Kalinka 1926 (facsimile); Sayar (facsimile).

Other bibliography: Kalinka 1896, 58–68; Lifschitz & Schiby 1968, 375.

Found at Perinthos-Heraclea (Marmara Erğelisi). Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Marble stele, broken below, 33 x 25 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–6th century CE.

Text (follows Sayar 1998):

ἐνθε κατάκι-
(shovel) (shofar) (menorah) (lulab) (ethrog)
τε ὁ μνίμις ἄ-
[ξ]ιος Εὐγένις·
[εὐλο]γία πᾶ-
[σιν]. 5

1. the *iota* in κατάκιτε is inscribed under the *kappa* and outside the double rectangular frame of the menorah due, perhaps, to a mistake of the letter cutter

1–2. 1. ἐνθα κατάκειται ὁ μνήμης

3. Sayar: Εὐγένις=Εὐγένι(ο)ς

4–5. Kalinka: ἁγία π-

Here lies Eugenius, worth of memory. A blessing to all.

The inscription was reported by Kalinka in 1896 and published in 1926, but it is now lost. He suggested, on the basis of the form of the Greek used, that it dates to the 5th–6th centuries CE.

11.1–3. The opening formula ἐνθε/α/αδε κατάκιτε was common in 5th–7th century Christian epitaphs from Perinthos-Heraclea.⁷⁶ It also occurs, before the name, in Jewish inscriptions from Taranto (3rd–6th century)⁷⁷ and Otranto (3rd–4th century),⁷⁸ Nicomedia in Bithynia⁷⁹ and Pontus.⁸⁰ The formula ἐνθα κατάκιτε/αι appears before the name in Christian inscriptions from Thessaloniki (5th–6th

⁷⁶ Sayar 1998, 371–8, nos. 224–36.

⁷⁷ JIWE i 118–19.

⁷⁸ JIWE i 134.

⁷⁹ CIJ ii 798 ; D. Feissel, *TM* 10 1987, 41, pl.I, 1–2.

⁸⁰ CIJ ii 801.

century),⁸¹ Odessos⁸² and Mesembria⁸³ in the Balkans, and also at Rome and in Spain.⁸⁴

The inscription has a *menorah* flanked by *shofar* and incense shovel on the left and *lulab* and *ethrog* on the right. The images are set within a double rectangular frame. The *menorah* has two small spiral handles and a solid base. This is a very rare representation. There are only three examples of seven-branched lampstands with handles found in the Diaspora: from Nicaea,⁸⁵ Sardis⁸⁶ and a Jewish plaque in the Jonathan Rosen collection in New York.⁸⁷ According to Rutgers & Fine these objects reflect a particular type of *menorah* used in western Asia Minor.⁸⁸ The handles of the Perinthos' *menorah*, however, are represented spiraling downwards rather than upwards as in the examples from Asia Minor. The only instance from Israel that possibly shows menorahs with handles is a basalt lintel, dated 4th–6th century CE, from Farj in the Golan.⁸⁹ Two of the lampstands represented there have a horizontal bar beneath the branches that could possibly be a handle, but also a device for hanging additional lamps. It is significant that the pieces discussed above have all been dated to the 4th–6th centuries which, in general, agrees with the date proposed for the Perinthos inscription.

The shape of the base of the menorah is also unusual. According to Hachlili it has 'the form of rock out of which the menorah rises'.⁹⁰ Similar representations are

⁸¹ RICM 175.

⁸² Beševliev 1944, 20–30, nos.3, 5–7, 20.

⁸³ Beševliev 1952, no.119.

⁸⁴ IGCVO 33, 36, 96, 573.

⁸⁵ Rutgers & Fine 1996, 11–7, fig.3. However, Hachlili 2001, cat.no.D6.8, thinks the spirals beneath the branches of Nicaea menorah are scrolls.

⁸⁶ Hachlili 2001, 78–9, fig.22f–g, cat.no.D 4.1, pl.II-43 (28). However, the curls on the plaque from Priene could also be scrolls. Rutgers & Fine 1996, 17; Hachlili 2001, 79, fig. II-22c, cat.no.D4.2.

⁸⁷ Rutgers & Fine 1996, 18–21.

⁸⁸ Rutgers & Fine 1996, 20–1 suggesting that the New York plaque possibly originated in western Asia Minor.

⁸⁹ Hachlili 2001, 72, fig.II-19a, cat.no.IS4.31.

⁹⁰ Hachlili 2001, 138.

found only on three gold-glasses from Rome⁹¹ and in Catacomb 3, hall E, room IV, at Beth She'arim, all of which have been dated to the 3rd–4th centuries CE. The Perinthos inscription also bears the only representation of an incense shovel in the Jewish monuments from the Balkans.⁹²

11.5–6. On the formula εὐλογία πᾶσιν, see *Thr1*. The name Eugenius is attested in a Jewish context in inscriptions from Aphrodisias⁹³ and (in the feminine form) Rome.⁹⁴ The name was popular in Antiquity as a proper name and as a by-name emphasizing the community virtue of nobility.⁹⁵

Assenovgrad

Thr5. Votive inscription of Helene (Pl. XII, fig. 4)

Editions: IGBulg iii 1961, no.1432 (from the stone); Dunst 1961, 481; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.681a; IGBulg v 1997, no.5530 (updates bibliography).

Illustrations: IGBulg iii, pl.199 (photo from the stone).

Other bibliography: Dunst 1963, 28 (Review of IGBulg iii); BE 1965, no.253; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72; Mitchell 1999, 112, 132, no.67.

Found in Badilema district in south-eastern part of Assenovgrad. Now: Assenovgrad, Archaeological Museum, no inv.no.

Details: Marble tablet, upper part broken, 32 x 22 cm. Letters: 2–4 cm. Language: Greek. Date: 2nd century or later.

Text (follows IGBulg iii 1961 and personal inspection):

[- - -]
 εια Ἐλέ-
 νη ἀνέ-
 θεκεν
 εὐλογη-
 τῷ εὐ-
 χήν.

5

...ia Helene dedicated to (the) blessed (God), a vow.

⁹¹ CIJ i, 518–9, 522; Hachlili 2001, 96–104, 138, figs.33a–b, 34c, III-13c, cat.no.D10.1-2, 9.

⁹² Hachlili 2001, 83–7, fig.II-24, cat.no.IS 11.12, pl.74

⁹³ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 6, 99, b ll.9, 24.

⁹⁴ JWE ii 116.

⁹⁵ Mussies 1994, 274.

The inscription comes from Assenovgrad, a town in the territory of ancient Philippopolis (Plovdiv). According to Dunst, followed by Robert and Lifshitz, the use of εὐλογητός in ll.5–6 confirms the dedication as Jewish.⁹⁶ This is a fixed term that explicitly refers to the blessing of the God of Israel found in the LXX and in the Jewish writings outside the Old Testament.⁹⁷ However, as Mitchell regards the inscription as most probably a dedication to *Theos Hypsistos*, which is the designation usually associated with εὐλογητός in the Bosphoran manumissions. The cult of *Theos* or *Zeus Hypsistos* is also well documented in the monuments from Thrace. A shrine of *Theos Hypsistos* has been discovered outside the northern gate of Serdica (Sofia), and votive inscriptions dedicated to the deity are found in Pautalia, Philippopolis, Assenovgrad, Perynthos, Selymbria, Kavalla and Pirot.⁹⁸ The use of εὐλογητός in Helene's dedication, however, suggests a cult almost certainly influenced by Judaism. This is not surprising if we consider the proximity of Assenovgrad to Philippopolis, the modern town is only 10 km. distance from Plovdiv where a Jewish community was well established already in the 3rd century.

The name Helene is rarely attested in Jewish inscriptions and papyri; cf. the epitaphs of Helles (Ἑλλῆς) from the Monteverde catacomb and of Aurelia Helene from the Vigna Randanini catacomb at Rome.⁹⁹ The male name Hellen is evidenced in an *ostrakon* from Thebes of 157 BCE and Helenos is found in a papyrus from Alexandria of 5/4 BCE.¹⁰⁰ The name here was almost certainly preceded by a Roman *nomen*.

⁹⁶ Mitchell 1999, 133, no. 85.

⁹⁷ For example Melchizedek's blessing in Gen 14.19–20. See further Hatch & Redpath i 1898, 764–5; Bauer 1961, 764–5.

⁹⁸ Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 192–203, no. 3–23; Mitchell 1999, 110–5, 131–2, nos. 60–75.

⁹⁹ JWE ii 32, 279.

¹⁰⁰ CPJ i 82.4; ii 151.2.

Chapter 5

MACEDONIA

Macedonia was split into four regions with centres Amphipolis, Thessaloniki, Pella and Pelgonia after the Roman victory over the Macedonian king Perseus at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE. It was made a Roman province in 148 BCE with capital Thessaloniki. The seat of the Macedonian assembly was at Beroea. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, Macedonia was divided into two provinces, Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Salutaris. It was reorganised again in the 5th century and divided into two provinces: Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Secunda.

A curious statement preserved in *scholion* 156 on Aristophanes' comedy 'Acharnians' suggests that the Thracian tribe Odomantes were Jews: Ὀδομάντων στρατός· Ὀδόμαντες ἔθνος Θρακικόν φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι (Odomantian army: Odomantes, a Thracian tribe. It is said that they are Jews).¹ The 'Acharnians' was written about six years after the beginning of the Archidamian war between Athens and Sparta in 431 BCE and reflects the present state of the Athenian politics and situation in the city.² The Acharnians had come to Athens from a mostly rural area north of the city that was plundered by the Peloponnesian army between 431 BCE and 430 BCE.³ The play reveals the search for and the consequent achievement of private peace between Dicaeopolis, farmer and main character of the play, and Sparta. During the prologue (ll. 1-42) goes to the Athenian assembly to

¹ Wilson 1975, 29; Stern, *GLAJJ* iii 1984, 60.

² On the origin of the Archidamian war and the formation of the Peloponnesian league consult Meiggs 1972, 306-49.

³ Thucydides, 2.13.1ff.

convince the representatives there of the benefits of the peace recently proposed by Sparta. In the assembly he witnesses the return of the embassy sent to Persia twelve years earlier, with promises of help and gold. In his anger and disbelief Dicaeopolis accuses the envoy of the Persian king of being a mere cheater and liar (ll. 61-128). At the same time another Athenian embassy led by Theoros brings back an army of mercenaries (Odomantes) from a Thracian king (presumably Sitalces; ll. 134-174).⁴ The appearance of the Odomantes in Aristophanes' play, however, has actually nothing to do with the Athenian embassy to Sitalces and the consequent events of the Archidamian war of 430-429 BCE. The Odomantes were a tribe of the Edonic group⁵ living east of the Strymon in proximity to other Thracian tribes like the Satres and the Dersei.⁶ Herodotus describes them as an independent tribe, which was not subdued by Megabazus and owned silver and gold mines in Mt Pangaeus.⁷ The eastern vicinity of Amphipolis was also part of the Odomantian territory, as Thucydides evidences it.⁸ Polybius ascribes the region east of Strymon to the Odomantes - in connection with the war campaign of Andriscus, a feigned son of the Macedonian king Perseus, in Thrace and Macedonia between 150 BCE and 149 BCE.⁹ This confirms the possible localisation of the Odomantes on the eastern bank of the Strymon, including the region of Sirrhac and the eastern inland of Amphipolis and on the northern side of Mt Pangaeus (Pl. IV).¹⁰ There are, however, no historical accounts of the customs and the

⁴ See the analysis of Starkie 1909, xxx-xxxvii, 6-47, and Dover 1972, 84-8.

⁵ According to Strabo, 7, frag. 11, the tribes of the Edonic group are the Edones, the Mygdones and the Sithones.

⁶ Herodotus, 7.110; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 4.11.40-1.

⁷ Herodotus, 5.16, added that the Satrae also had mines on this side of Mt Pangaeus. The Doberes and the Agrianes also succeeded to preserve their territory independent.

⁸ Thucydides, 5.6.

⁹ Polybius, *Hist.* 36.10.

¹⁰ In the second century Ptolemy encountered the following towns in the region of the Odomantes: Ὀδομαντικῆς καὶ Ἡδωνίδος Σκοτοῦσσα, Βέργα, Γάσωρος, Ἀμφίπολις, Φίλιπποι. Ptolemy, *Geographia* III, 13, 31, ed. Nobbe 1843, 197-8.

religious beliefs and practices of the Odomantes.¹¹ Yet, in line 158 Aristophanes describes them using the verb ἀποθριάζω (ἀποτεθρίακεν), which is properly 'stripping fig leaves', but is used here to suggest that the Odomantes were circumcised.¹² Aristophanes repeats this observation a few lines below in the text (line 161) using this time the participle ἀπεψωλημενοις. It seems that the statement of the Scholiast that the Thracian tribe Odomantes were Jews mixes the common association of the rite of circumcision with Judaism and the legendary tradition of the Phoenician colonisation of Thrace. If we accept the circumcised Odomantes of Aristophanes as a proof that this Thracian tribe actually practised circumcision, it would refer to a custom developed independently rather than to one influenced by the customs of the Phoenicians or the Jews. The latter is confirmed by the fact that Aristophanes refers to this rite in his play. If it had not been known, it would not have made any sense to the audience. However, there is no evidence, which can support a theory of Jewish colonisation in Thrace in the middle of the fifth century BC. The other problem is that it is not clear whether by his description of the circumcised Odomantes Aristophanes intends to satirise the Thracian allies of Athens during the Archidamian war or refers to a custom associated with that tribe. This problem, however, was resolved in the scholion in Acharnenses, 156 with the interesting but fictitious commentary, which associates the Odomantes with the Jews.

¹¹ Except the mention of a pyre in the romantic story about the love between Pallene, daughter of the Odomantian king Sithon, and Clitus in Parthenius, *Erot.* 6. The character of the evidence, however, does not allow further examination except. Nevertheless, the name of the Odomantian king – Sithon – might signify possible patrimonial relationship between the Odomantes and the Sithones.

¹² The explanation of the verb by Hesychius of Alexandria, ed. Latte 1953, N 6706, p. 227, is similar, as in the *Souda Lexicon* 3586, ed. Adler 1928, 324, where we also have a reference to the *scholion* on l. 156 of 'Acharnians'.

Stobi

Stobi is located at the junction of Erigon (Černa) and Axios (Vardar), near the village of Gradsko, Veles region, in FYR Macedonia. The city is mentioned for the first time by Livy on occasion of the victory of Philip V of Macedon over the Dardanians near the town of Stobi.¹³ He later returns to Stobi and describes it as 'an old town' ('... haud procul Stobis, vetere urbe').¹⁴ According to the results of the excavations conducted between 1970 and 1981 it was established that the site of Stobi was occupied from the 3rd century BCE until the late 6th century CE.¹⁵ The city was of great importance in the Roman province of Macedonia, and later for Macedonia Salutaris and Macedonia Secunda. After the Roman victory over the Macedonian king Perseus in 168 BCE the city was made the salt emporium of the fourth region of Macedonia. During the reign of Augustus, Stobi was made an *oppidum civium Romanum* and evidenced a dramatic increase of the population. Sometime before 69 CE the city was made a *municipium* and minted its first coins bearing the legend *municipium Stobensium*.¹⁶ Its citizens also enjoyed *ius Italicum*, i.e. they were Roman citizens, and were registered in the Roman tribes of Aemilia and Tromentia.¹⁷ Stobi prospered in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, many public buildings date to this period including the Theatre. From the 4th century it was made an Episcopal seat.¹⁸ Budus, the bishop of Stobi, attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 CE and the emperor Theodosius visited the city in June 388 CE.¹⁹ He issued there a law forbidding the

¹³ Livy xxxiii, 19, 3.

¹⁴ Livy xxxix, 53, 15.

¹⁵ Wiseman 1975, 13-4; Wiseman 1984, 295-313.

¹⁶ Papazoglou 1988, 315-7.

¹⁷ Papazoglou 1986, 213-231; Papazoglou 1988, 316-7; Wiseman 1975, 15-6.

¹⁸ The enormous Episcopal Basilica of Stobi was built in the 4th century and renovated in the 5th and 6th centuries. Wiseman 1984, 305-9.

¹⁹ Aleksova 1997, 107.

assembly of heretics and the public discussion of religion.²⁰ In the 5th century the city gradually declined although it remained an important trade and ecclesiastical centre: Stobi was the administrative centre of Moesia Secunda and home of the Christian writer John Stobeus; its bishop Nicolaus attended the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE. In 472 the city surrendered to the Ostrogothic king Theodemir and in 479 it was sacked by his son Theodoric. The city suffered further destruction during the great earthquake of 533 and since then was gradually abandoned.²¹

Bibliography for synagogue: Petrović 1931, 278–9, 288; Petković & Petrović 1931, 222–3, 232; Petrović 1932, 81–6; Petković & Mano-Zissi 1932, 208–9, 234; Petrović 1933/4, 169–84; Sukenik 1934, 79–81; Petrović 1943, 496–503; Kitzinger 1946, 129–34, 140–6; Petrov 1955, 73–4, 77; Vinčić 1963, 97–8; Hodinott 1963, 179–81; Wischnitzer 1964, 7–9; Vinčić 1965, 129–31; Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408–11, pls.87–90; Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1972, 408–11; Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1973, 391–3; Wiseman 1973, 30–3; Mano-Zissi 1973, 208–10; Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1974, 146–148; Kolarik & Petrovski 1975, 66–75, figs.1–8; Wiseman & Georgievski 1975, 173–6, 182–4; J Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1976, 293–7; Moe 1977, 148–57; Wiseman 1978, 392–5; Kraabel 1979, 494–7; Mano-Zissi 1981, 119; Poehlman 1981, 235–48; Foerster 1981, 167–70; Wiseman 1984, 295–301; Revised Schürer iii.1, 1986, 67; Wiseman 1986, 40–1, 43, pls. 38–55; Koco et al. 1996, 68 ; White ii 1997, 346–52, no.72; Hachlili 1998, 231–3; Levine 2001, 252–5.

Excavations at Stobi conducted under the direction of Joso Petrović in 1931 unearthed a three-aisle basilica situated in the central area of the city. The basilica is oriented from north-west to south-east. On the basis of *MacI*, Petrović recognised the building as a synagogue (Pl. V).²² The presence of capitals decorated with crosses (perhaps from the arches of the windows in the apse) and of a Christian burial stone in one of the rooms of the forecourt was largely ignored by Petrović. He thought that they showed that the synagogue was turned into a

²⁰ CTh 16.4.2, 16.5.15.

²¹ Papazoglou 1988, 318–23.

²² Petrović 1931, 1932.

church at the end of its existence.²³ Some scholars, including Vulić, Klein, Frey, Marmorstein and Sukenik, accepted Petrović's suggestion. Kitzinger rejected it, arguing that the column was actually reused in the construction of the basilica, which, he assumed, was Christian. Concerning the origin of the column, he admitted that it could belong to an entirely different building or to an earlier edifice over which the basilica was erected. The latter view, suggested originally by Lietzmann, proved accurate when in 1963/5, during the conservation and restoration work on the Stobi buildings, a rectangular hall with mosaic floor was found below the nave of the basilica.²⁴ However, it was not until 1970 when systematic exploration of the site commenced under the direction of J. Wiseman and D. Mano-Zissi. The subsequent excavations revealed that in fact there are two buildings, one immediately above the other, below the level of the basilica (designated since 1970 the Central Basilica). The older edifice (designated Synagogue I) was identified as the synagogue of the Polycharmus inscription (*MacI*). The later building was designated Synagogue II.

Synagogue I. The precise architectural plan of Synagogue I, and the earlier buildings on the site, cannot be determined because of the complicated stratification of the site. Polycharmus' inscription suggests that the building he donated was 'a two storied house that had a colonnaded courtyard, dining room, and probably rooms large enough (separately or combined) to house an assembly on the bottom floor. Upstairs there were living quarters. Of course the roof was tiled. All this basically gives us a picture of a middle or upper middle class house – possibly a villa – in a rather typical Mediterranean style.'²⁵ None of these rooms

²³ Kitzinger 1946, 131.

²⁴ Vinčić 1963, 1965.

²⁵ Poehlman 1981, 238.

have been identified with confidence. The earliest edifice on the site has been identified as a potter's shop located beneath the *narthex* of the basilica.²⁶ The complex has been dated to the Hellenistic period on basis of a deposit of Late Hellenistic pottery.²⁷ It was destroyed by fire in the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE and a new building was built over it soon afterwards. The only surviving evidence of this structure is a flagstone pavement discovered in front of the northern colonnade of the Central Basilica. Synagogue I was probably built over this earlier edifice. The remains of the synagogue itself are indicated only by a few parts of walls. Wiseman and Poehlman report that at least part of the north wall of the building was re-used in Synagogue II.²⁸ The wall is situated between the northern stylobate and the north wall of the basilica (W2).²⁹ Traces of a street pavement were found outside the north wall of Synagogue I.³⁰ The western part of the south wall of the building was partly re-used in Synagogue II. The wall is situated just north of the south *stylobate* and below the nave of the basilica (W1). Two walls connected to W1 were discovered below the mosaic floor of Synagogue II in the centre of the nave of the basilica. Both are orientated north-south, but it is not clear whether they connect to the north wall (W2). They may well have been part of the earlier edifice on the site and re-used in the construction of Synagogue I. The walls form a small inner courtyard (3.7 x 6 m) paved with flagstones. An oven and a *pithos* were also found in the courtyard.³¹ The west end

²⁶ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1972, 409–11. Among the artefacts found on this level were many pieces of Hellenistic pottery and a golden hoard dated to the 120–119 BCE.

²⁷ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408.

²⁸ Wiseman 1978, 393; Poehlman 1981, 239.

²⁹ The numbers given to the walls of Synagogue I are those used by Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408–9, ill. 6. Poehlman 1981 uses a different system of numbering. Poehlman's wall 1 = Wiseman & Mano-Zissi wall 2; Poehlman's wall 2 = Wiseman & Mano-Zissi wall 1.

³⁰ Wiseman 1978, 393.

³¹ Poehlman 1981, 240, *contra* White 1997, 347 who has it as a small room. A similar courtyard is evidenced in the second stage of Dura-Europos synagogue. See White 1997, 277–81, fig.29b.

of the building is perhaps between the west end of the nave and the narthex. Poehlman suggests that the east wall (W3) of Synagogue II, located in front of the apse of the basilica, was also used in Synagogue I.³² Several plaster fragments with *dipinti* honouring Polycharmus have been discovered at the western end of W1 (*Mac*5-6). Poehlman notes that they seem to come from the south and north sides of the wall, suggesting that there were rooms on both sides.³³ A doorway has been found in this part of the wall suggesting connection with a building south of W1 (designated later as the 'House of Psalms').³⁴ On the basis of this evidence Wiseman & Mano-Zissi identified the building as the one mentioned in the inscription of Polycharmus.³⁵ Their suggestion has been confirmed by another inscription honouring Polycharmus' benefaction found painted on a marble plaque. The fragments of this plaque were re-used as an *opus sectile* filling of the floor of Synagogue II (*Mac* 3). These discoveries indicate that the column with the Polycharmus inscription belonged to Synagogue I. However, the additional rooms mentioned in the inscription – the *triclinium* and *tetrastoon* – have not been located. What appears so far from the evidence is that Synagogue I was originally a domestic structure with a small inner courtyard and, probably, service rooms south of W1.³⁶ Wiseman and Poehlman favour a 2nd-century date for the construction of Synagogue I.³⁷ However, an early 3rd-century date is also possible. White suggests that Synagogue I was destroyed by fire, but the recent reports have shown that the marks of burning found along the eastern part of W1 are not

³² Poehlman 1981, 239.

³³ Poehlman 1981, 241.

³⁴ Mano-Zissi 1973, 208–9.

³⁵ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408.

³⁶ Poehlman 1981, 242–3.

³⁷ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408; Wiseman 1978, 393; Poehlman 1981, 243–4.

widespread.³⁸ It is more likely that the burning was part of a clearing operation during the construction of Synagogue II in the late 3rd or early 4th century.³⁹ Wiseman notes that the earthquake that severely damaged the theatre at Stobi in the late 3rd century may also have caused the destruction of Synagogue I and several other public buildings.⁴⁰

Synagogue II. The second building emerged in the late 3rd or early 4th century after considerable reconstruction of Synagogue I, but it is not clear under what circumstances the reconstruction work took place. During the construction of the building, new exterior walls were laid down on its east and north sides, partly re-using the older structures. The old north wall (W2) was extended to the west abutting the west wall of the edifice (below the atrium of the basilica), and to the east into an unexplored area of the site.⁴¹ The east wall (W3) bonded with the north and continued southwards, where it connected with the new partition wall between Synagogue II and the 'House of Psalms' (later the wall of the south aisle of the basilica). On the west, a new wall was built attached to the west end of the doorway of the old south wall (W1) and the partition wall with the 'House of Psalms' or its predecessor. The new walls were connected through an additional wall, which ran parallel to the partition wall. Thus, they formed a room designated by the excavators as Room 2 of Synagogue II.⁴² West of this room, under the south part of the narthex and the atrium of the basilica, the traces of the walls of yet another room have been found (designated the 'Southwest room' and later as Room 3). The doorways situated in the north and south walls of Room 3 provided access from the main hall of Synagogue II to the 'House of Psalms'. Hence, we

³⁸ White 1997, 348.

³⁹ Pohlman 1981, 242.

⁴⁰ Wiseman 1986, 41.

⁴¹ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1976, 296.

can describe Synagogue II as a long rectangular structure with one large hall measuring 13.3 by 7.6 m. (Room 1) and two smaller rooms attached from the south (Rooms 2 and 3).⁴³ The length of the whole building is approximately 21 m. The walls of the main hall were decorated with frescoes, its windows and doors adorned with decorative stucco mouldings bearing floral motifs, and the entire floor paved with mosaic and *opus sectile*.⁴⁴ Some of the frescoes in the main hall had graffiti containing a continuous text in Greek and several names (*Mac4*). The mosaic floor, discovered by Vinčić in 1965, is made of separate patches of mosaic with a geometric design, which suggests several stages in its construction.⁴⁵ Foundation stones, probably for benches, were found in front of the south wall of the building.⁴⁶ In the main hall there also is a small stepped platform standing against the east wall considered by Wiseman and Mano-Zissi as a *bema*.⁴⁷ The building has three entrances. The central entrance is located on the west wall and there was an additional door to the main hall in the north wall (W1). Another door opened into Room 3 of the building, providing access to the 'House of Psalms'. The discovery of three *menorah* graffiti scratched on the plaster coating of the east wall of Room 3 in 1975 confirmed that the building is a synagogue (the graffiti were found on the west side of the wall, i.e. inside the room).⁴⁸ The connection between Synagogue II and the 'House of Psalms' (designated in earlier studies as the 'Summer Palace' and 'Polycharmus's Palace') has been suggested by most of the explorers of the site; but, as the excavations showed, the floor of the

⁴² Wiseman 1978, 393.

⁴³ Probably there was a partition wall on the line of the late narthex/nave wall as suggested by Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 410. See also Moe 1977, 154–5 and White 1997, 349.

⁴⁴ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 410–11, fig. 8.

⁴⁵ Kolarik & Petrovski 1975, 66–75, esp. 69.

⁴⁶ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 410.

⁴⁷ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 410–11.

⁴⁸ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1976, 295–6, fig. 31; Moe 1977, 153.

synagogue lies on a higher level than that of 'House of Psalms'.⁴⁹ It is not impossible that the two buildings were part of a larger complex providing the Jewish community with a dining hall and study room (*triclinium* and *tetrastoon*?).⁵⁰ However, the early building history of the two sites is obscure and their possible communication should be defined only after further exploration in future.

At the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century, Synagogue II was supplanted by the construction of the Central Basilica. The basilica was identified beyond any doubt as a Christian church after the discovery in 1975 of a cross-shaped reliquary-crypt in its apsidal area.⁵¹ It appears that the building of the basilica started when Synagogue II, or at least its main hall, was still in good repair.⁵² This fact raised many questions about the nature and the content of the relations between Jews and Christians in Stobi. Moe suggests that the building came forcibly into Christian possession.⁵³ However, as White has shown, there is no direct evidence for forced transfer of the ownership.⁵⁴

Mac1. Donation of Ti. Claudius Polycharmus (Pl. XIII, fig. 1)

Editions: Vulić 1931, 238–9, no.636; Petrović 1932, 83–4, 135–6 (resume); Vulić 1932, 291–8; Vulić 1933, 34–42; Klein 1933, 81–4; Lietzmann 1933, 93–5; Danov 1934, 101–5; Sukenik 1934, 79–81; Vulić 1935, 169–75; CIJ i 1936, no.694; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. 76; Marmorstein 1937, 373–84; Robert 1937, 82; Kitzinger 1946, 129–34, 140–6; Robert 1946, 104; Heichelheim 1953; Hengel 1966, 145–83; Lifshitz 1967, 18–19, no.10; BE 1968, no.325; White ii 1997, 352–6, no.73; Habas-Rubin 2001, 41–78.

⁴⁹ Kitzinger 1946, 139–14; Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 411; White 1997, 350.

⁵⁰ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1974, 146, fig.32; Poehلمان 1981, 239–41; White 1997, 350. The dining room of the 'House of Psalms' also had a fountain in its centre and was decorated with a mosaic pavement. Wiseman & Mano-Zissi (1971, 411) suggest that the images of wild animals, trees and other plants represented on the mosaic may be Jewish. However, there are also many examples testifying that similar designs were used in the decoration of Christian churches. Wischnitzer 1964, 9, following Vitruvius vi, 3.1, suggests that *tetrastoon* refers to a four column courtyard.

⁵¹ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1976, 293–5; Alexova 1997, 142–3.

⁵² Moe 1977, 153–5.

⁵³ Moe 1977, 153; Kraabel 1979, 496–7.

⁵⁴ White 1997, 352 n.120.

Illustrations: Petrović 1932, 83, fig. 3 (photo from the stone); Vulić 1932, pl. xix (photo from the stone); Petrović 1933/4, 172, fig. 3 (photo from the stone); CIJ i 1936 (photo from Vulić); Kitzinger 1946, figs. 203-4 (photo from the stone); Ovadiah 1996 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: Petrović 1943, 497-9; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii, 1953, 70 n.3; Alon i 1980, 251-2; Cohen 1986, 172-3; *RICM* 1983, 245 (no text); Jacobs 1995, 244-7 no.68, 339; Ovadiah 1996, 40-1; Ovadiah 1998, 186-187, 191-2; Williams 1998, 34 no. II.7 (Engl. transl.); Claußen 2002, 199-202.

Found at Stobi. Now: Belgrade, National Museum, inv. no. 18/IV.
Details: White marble column cut off at the top, 225 x 98 cm (Vulić) or 248 x 98 cm (White).

Language: Greek. Date: Second half of the 2nd to first half of the 3rd century CE.

Text (follows Lifshitz 1967 and photo; l. 1 according to Vulić's squeeze):

[.....] +++	
[Κλ.] Τιβέριος Πολύ-	
χαρμος ὁ καὶ Ἀχύρι-	
ος ὁ πατήρ τῆς ἐν	
Στόβοις συναγωγῆς,	5
ὃς πολειτευσάμε-	
νος πᾶσαν πολειτεί-	
αν κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαί-	
σμόν, εὐχῆς ἕνεκεν	
τοὺς μὲν οἴκους τῷ	10
ἀγίῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὸ	
τρίκλεινον σὺν τῷ	
τετραστόῳ ἐκ τῶν	
οἰκείων χρημάτων	
μηδὲν ὅλως παραψά-	15
μενος τῶν ἀγίων, τὴν	
δὲ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ὑπε-	
ρώων πάντων πᾶσαν	
καὶ τὴν <δ>εσποτείαν	
ἔχειν· ἐμὲ τὸν Κλ. Τιβέρι-	20
ον Πολύχαρμον {καὶ τοὺς}	
καὶ τοὺς κληρονόμους	
τοὺς ἐμοὺς διὰ παντός	
βίου, ὃς ἂν δὲ βουλευθῇ	
τι καινοτομῆσαι παρὰ τὰ ὑ-	25
π' ἐμοῦ δοχθέντα, δώσει τῷ	
πατριαρχῇ δηναρίων <μ>υριά-	
δας εἴκοσι πέντε· οὕτω γάρ	
μοι συνέδοξεν, τὴν δὲ ἐπι-	
σκευὴν τῆς κεράμου τῶν	30
ὑπερώων ποιεῖσθαι ἐμὲ	
καὶ κληρονόμους	
ἐμούς.	

Ligatures: 4 HP, HC; 5 HC; 6 ME; 7 TB; 9. NE, HC; 10 ME; 14 HM; 15 MH; 16 ME, NT, HN; 19 HN; 20 EN, ME; 21 NI; 22 HP; 25 MHC; 26 ΠΕ, NT; 27 HN; 28 ΠΕ, NT; 30 HN, HC

1. Lietzmann: [Ἐγὼ Κλ(αύδιος)]
1. Vulić: Ἔτους ΤΙΑ; Habas-Rubin: ΤΙΑ
5. Lietzmann: Στ(ό)βοις
6. A small *omicron*, originally missed by the stone cutter, is inscribed in the Π
- 6–7. Habas-Rubin: πολιτευσάμενος
- 7–8. Habas-Rubin: πολιτείαν
19. ΔΕCΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ on the stone
- 27–28. ΝΥΡΙΑΔΑC on the stone

[...] [*Claudius*] *Tiberius Polycharmus, also (called) Achyrius, the father of the synagogue at Stobi, having lived my whole life according to (the prescriptions of) Judaism, in fulfilment of a vow (have donated) the rooms(?) to the holy place, and the triclinium with the tetrastoa out of my personal accounts without touching the sacred (funds) at all. All the right of all upper (rooms of the building) and the ownership is to be held by me, Claudius Tiberius Polycharmus, and my heirs for life. If someone wishes to make changes beyond my decisions, he shall give the patriarch 250,000 denarii. For thus I have agreed. As for the upkeep of the roof tiles of the upper (rooms of the building), it will be done by me and my heirs.*

The inscription was found inscribed on a column in the *peristyle* atrium of the Central Basilica during the excavations at Stobi conducted by Joso Petrović in 1931 (see above).

Vulić reconstructs the missing first line of the inscription as Ἔτους ΤΙΑ or ΠΙΑ, suggesting that it includes an enumeration of years according to the era of Actium or to the Macedonian era. Marmorstein calculates that ΠΙΑ (111) of the Actian era corresponds to 79 CE and that ΤΙΑ (311) corresponds to 279 CE (Actian era) or 163 CE (Macedonian era).⁵⁵ Lietzmann proposes a completely different reconstruction: Ἐγὼ Κλ(αύδιος). However, it would be very difficult to provide a reliable reconstruction of the first line of the inscription because what actually survives is only a few scratches on the stone.⁵⁶ It is also not clear why Vulić et al. read only 8 letters in the first line while all other lines in the inscription have about 15 letters.

⁵⁵ Marmorstein 1937, 382; Frey in CIJ calculates 165 CE. On the Macedonian era in inscriptions, cf. Papazoglou 1963, 517–21.

⁵⁶ Kitzinger 1946, 144; Hengel 1966, 146; Poehlman 1981, 243.

11.2-4. Polycharmus was a Roman citizen as indicated by his *nomen* Claudius. He had a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* and a Greek *cognomen* (Πολύχαρμος). It is interesting that his *nomen* is placed before his *praenomen* Tiberius. A similar phenomenon is seen on a Jewish epitaph from Philippi where the cognomen of the deceased man is placed before the *nomen*: Φ(λάβιος)? Νικόστρατο(ς) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὁξυχόλιος (*Mac14*). According to Heilchelheim this was not a practice attested to in the early imperial inscriptions. Apart from Stobi, Πολύχαρμος occurs only once in inscriptions from Macedonia as a personal name and patronymic – in an inscription from Orestis.⁵⁷ The name, however, is fairly well represented in other parts of Greece.⁵⁸

Polycharmus also had a by-name Achyrios (Ἀχύριος). The name has not been attested before in literary sources or in inscriptions. Marmorstein, Lietzmann, Danov and Hengel suggest the name is of Semitic origin. Marmorstein, followed by Heilchelheim, proposes that the name 'may stand for the form Achai, or Achei, with an additional 'r', or perhaps by losing 'M' it may stand for Machir, Macheir.'⁵⁹ However, Vulić notes the name could be related to the Greek word ἄχυρον ('chaff, bran, husks'; LSJ, s.v.). Habas-Rubin translates the name as 'flaxen', which agrees with Vulić's observation, suggesting it referred to the colour of Polycharmus' hair. The by-name can also be translated with the original meaning of ἄχυρον (chaff) as by-names formed on the basis of, or related to, plants are well attested in the Greek onomasticon.⁶⁰ Even a negative meaning of Polycharmus' by-name ('chaff-man') is possible⁶¹; Mussies notes several

⁵⁷ Rizakis & Touratsoglou 1985, 168-76, no. 186, face ii l.58.

⁵⁸ LGPN s.v.

⁵⁹ Marmorstein 1937, 376.

⁶⁰ Fick & Bechtel 1894, 325-9.

⁶¹ *Contra* Habas-Rubin 2001, 46.

examples of by-names having negative compounds.⁶² Another possibility is to understand Polycharmus' by-name in the sense of the proverb noted by LSJ: ὄνος εἰς ἄχυρα ('donkey in chaff', i.e. 'pig in clover') i.e. an unexpected good fortune.⁶³ Thus, his by-name can be translated as 'the (unexpectedly) fortunate'. According to Lietzmann, followed by Hengel, Poehlman and Habas-Rubin, the names Tiberius and Claudius frequently occur in the 2nd and 3rd century, but is less common in inscriptions at the end of 3rd century.

11.4–5. The title πατήρ συναγωγῆς has usually been interpreted as a honorific one.⁶⁴ Claußen equates it to the Roman *patronus*.⁶⁵ Van der Horst suggests that the holders of the title had certain administrative duties in the synagogue, but he does not specify what kind of duties.⁶⁶ However, it seems that in Polycharmus' case, as perhaps in many others (especially at Rome),⁶⁷ the title has been conferred on a distinguished benefactor of the local Jewish community. The title πατήρ συναγωγῆς indicates that Polycharmus was active as a donor to the Jewish community in Stobi before the inscription, which already describes him as a holder of the title, was set up. He may have received the title following his donation, as the inscription was ordered by him to clarify the legal position of his donation, not necessarily to mark the original donation itself.⁶⁸ The term συναγωγῆς indicates the local Jewish community, as noted by most interpreters of the inscription (Vulić, Kitzinger, Hengel, Lifshitz, Habas-Rubin). The

⁶² Mussies 1994, 274–5.

⁶³ Aristophanes, *Frogs* 76.

⁶⁴ Krauss 1922, 166–167; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 101; Hengel 1966, 176–8.

⁶⁵ Claußen 2002, 284–9.

⁶⁶ Van der Horst 1991, 93–4, 107.

⁶⁷ *JWE* ii 209, 288, 540, 560, 576, 578, 584.

⁶⁸ Rajak 1998, 34.

expression πατήρ τῆς ἐν Στόβοις συναγωγῆς may also suggest that there was only one synagogue in Stobi.⁶⁹

11.7–9. The expression ὅς πολειτευσάμενος πᾶσαν πολειτείαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν can be interpreted as stating that Polycharmus has conducted his daily life as a citizen according to the norms of Judaism.⁷⁰ In a similar way an epitaph from Rome or Porto states that certain Cattia Ammias have lived a good life in Judaism (καλῶς βιώσασα ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ).⁷¹ Polycharmus was a Roman citizen as his name indicates and also a member of the πολιτεία of Stobi. Troiani notes that πολιτεία included the performance of public services in the interests of the city.⁷² Robert also observes that in the Imperial age the term acquired the meaning of a civic duty.⁷³ It seems that this part of the inscription follows closely the use of the phrase πᾶσαν πολειτείαν πολειτευσάμενος in non-Jewish inscriptions, where it was sometimes used by people who were not citizens or had recently acquired their citizenship.⁷⁴ In both cases the term indicates that these people had performed a public service to their city.⁷⁵ However, whether it also indicates that Polycharmus had held a public office in Stobi we can only speculate.⁷⁶ Ἰουδαϊσμός is well attested in the literary sources from 2Macc onwards.⁷⁷ The expression may also indicate that Polycharmus was a Jew strictly

⁶⁹ Habas-Rubin 2001, 46.

⁷⁰ Sophocles 1914, 903; Vulić 1932, 295; Lietzmann 1933, 94; Danov 1934, 103; Marmorstein 1937, 382; Schwabe *ap.* Sukenik 1934, 80–1 n.1; Hengel 1966, 178–81. Cf. the πολιτεία of Israel in 2Macc. 4.11, 6.1; 8.17; 13:14; 3 Macc. 3.4; 4Macc. 2.8, 2.23, 3.30, 4.23, 4.26, 5.16; 8.7, 17.9; Josephus, *AJ* 12.3.3; Eph 2.12; 1 Clem. 2.8, 3.4, 6.1, 21.1, 44.6, 51.2 (PG 1, 212A, 216A, 220A, 256A, 309A, 313B); Justyn Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* 45.3, 47.4 (PG 6, 572B, 576D); Polycarp of Smyrna, *Ep. ad Phil.* 5.2 (PG 5, 1009B).

⁷¹ *JWE* ii 584.

⁷² Troiani 1994, 17; cf. Plutarch, *De tribus* 2.826.

⁷³ Robert 1968, 325.

⁷⁴ Wilhelm 1925, 78–82.

⁷⁵ Wilhelm 1925, 78.

⁷⁶ For example Habas-Rubin 2001, 47.

⁷⁷ 2Macc 2.21, 8.1, 14.38; Gal. 1.13–4, etc. The term was introduced in a negative sense, as opposite to Χριστιανισμός, by Ignatius of Antioch (*ad Philad.* 6.1 = PG 5, 701A; *ad Magn.* 8.1 = PG 5, 765A,

observing the practice of Judaism. Lietzmann, followed by Danov, suggests that the explicit mentioning of Polycharmus' obedience to the Jewish law indicates that he was a proselyte. This, again, remains a possible but unsubstantiated suggestion. The expression perhaps serves a double purpose: it provides an explanation of Polycharmus' status as a father of the Jewish community in Stobi and gives the reason for his vow and donation in 11.9–10.

1.9. The use of the formula εὐχῆς ἕνεκεν introduces the motive for Polycharmus' donation: a vow which he had taken. His intention is clear: to represent the donation as an act of piety and underline its religious aspect. Vows are evidenced in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt,⁷⁸ Apamea⁷⁹ and Cyprus.⁸⁰ Reference to Polycharmus' vow also occur on a marble plaque and in the *dipinti* from Synagogue I (*Mac3*, *Mac5-6*). The use of the formula εὐχῆς ἕνεκεν here presupposes a wording with a main verb like ἐχαρίσατο ('donated') or προσέθετο ('added').⁸¹

1.10. Hengel and Lifshitz note that οἶκους should be translated as 'rooms' not 'buildings'.⁸² Lifshitz compares the use of οἶκοι to the occurrence of δώματα in the inscription of Theodotus from Jerusalem.⁸³ Wiseman, *ap.* Habas-Rubin, notes that a μὲν/δὲ construction begins at this line (τοὺς μὲν οἶκους ... δὲ [ἐξουσίαν] τῶν ὑπερώων), which strongly suggests that the donation includes rooms from Polycharmus' residence, not the addition of new

10.3 = PG 5, 771A) and consequently used by most Church fathers in their anti-Jewish polemic (Hengel 1966, 179–81, n. 107–8, 116–17).

⁷⁸ JIGRE 16, 19, 116, 134.

⁷⁹ CIJ ii 817.

⁸⁰ CIJ ii 736.

⁸¹ Hengel 1966, 160.

⁸² Hengel 1966, 160–1; Lifshitz 1967, no.10.

⁸³ Lifshitz 1967, no.81.

buildings as suggested by Kitzinger.⁸⁴ This agrees with the archaeological data regarding Synagogue I presented by Poehlman.⁸⁵

1.11. The term ἅγιος τόπος designates the building (or the main hall?) of the synagogue of Stobi.⁸⁶ The term is used as a designation of the synagogue building in inscriptions from Ascalon, Gaza (6th century), Gerasa and Egypt.⁸⁷ The τρῖκλεινον (a dining room) and the τετράστοον (study room)⁸⁸ mentioned in 11.10–13 as part of the rooms donated by Polycharmus, have not been localised archaeologically. Poehlman suggests that the small flagstone courtyard with an oven from Synagogue I was perhaps the *tetrastoon*, while the main hall of the synagogue was situated south of W1. This area, according to him, also included Polycharmus' living quarters.⁸⁹ This suggestion, however, has not been proven so far and the 1st-century room with decorated walls discovered under the eastern end of the south aisle of the Central Basilica lies almost a metre higher than the flagstone courtyard.⁹⁰

11.13-14. The formula ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων χρημάτων indicates a donation from private funds. The formula follows the standard Greek euergetistic expression ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων representing the donor's own contribution. It was expected that the donor would receive some type of honours for his/her generosity (in the case of Polycharmus, he was the father of the community at Stobi).⁹¹ The formula is different from the expressions ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεῶν and ἐκ τῶν τῆς προνοίας attested to in Jewish inscriptions from Aegina and

⁸⁴ Kitzinger 1946, 142; Habas-Rubin 2001, 48.

⁸⁵ Poehlman 1981, 243.

⁸⁶ Danov 1934, 104; Hengel 1966, 172–6; White 1997, 355 n.125.

⁸⁷ Lifshitz 1967, nos. 70, 73a, 78, 88–90; JIGRE 16–17, 127; Kasher 1995, 215–20.

⁸⁸ Literary a hall with four rows of columns or four porticoes (LSJ, s.v.; Sophocles 1914, 1079).

⁸⁹ Poehlman 1981, 240.

⁹⁰ Wiseman 1978, 395.

⁹¹ Rajak 1998, 238; Habas-Rubin 2001, 49.

Philippopolis in the Balkans (*Ach*58; *Thr*1-2). Although these formulae also refer to a donation from private resources, the idea behind them is different: the private funds are envisaged as a result of God's generosity.

l.16. The term τῶν ἁγίων indicates the treasury of the Jewish community in Stobi. In this inscription it performs the same function as the well-known designation of the imperial treasury ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον does elsewhere. Wiseman, *ap.* Habas-Rubin, notes that the second part of the μὲν/δὲ construction starts in ll.16–17 (see commentary to l.10). The missing verb in the construction (accusative + infinitive) should be ἔδοξεν (cf. l.29).⁹²

ll.17–24. The provision set here that Polycharmus and his descendents shall retain the ownership of the upper floor of the building has been interpreted by Hengel as the donor's wish to live in the 'holy place'.⁹³ However, Polycharmus' residence in the house probably preceded its use as a synagogue. Polycharmus' donation refers to domestically organised worship: the congregation gathered in one or two rooms of his house, while he was still living in another part of the building. The same phenomenon is attested to among Christians.⁹⁴ The use of the term δεσποτεία suggests that Polycharmus intended to have full and undisputed possession of the upper floor. δεσποτεία is the first part of a legal provision, which includes the fine in ll.25–8, against any possible action against Polycharmus' will during his own lifetime or after his death.

Sukenik corrected Vulic's reading of καὶ τοὺς <καὶ τοὺς> to [[καὶ τοὺς]] καὶ τοὺς in ll.21–2 and it is clear from the stone that the first one was

⁹² Habas-Rubin 2001, 49.

⁹³ Hengel 1966, 168, 172–3.

⁹⁴ White 1997.

deliberately erased by the stonecutter.⁹⁵ However, Sukenik's note was ignored in most editions of the inscription (with the exception of Habas-Rubin).⁹⁶

1.27. The patriarch mentioned is most probably the Patriarch in Palestine not a local dignitary.⁹⁷ This is the only reference to the office of the Patriarch from the Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire. The patriarchs mentioned in the epitaph from Argos are most probably the biblical patriarchs (*Ach51*). The existence of 'local' patriarchs suggested by CTh 16.8.2 & 16.8.13 and argued by Vulić, Juster, Krauss and Millar is bound to remain speculative.⁹⁸ The problem is that the laws they refer to are dated 330 and 397 CE and thus the information they provide can hardly be taken as instructive for the occurrence of 'local' patriarchs in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Moreover, as Linder has noted 'the existence of 'patriarchs' subject to the Illustrious Patriarchs and hierarchically under the Archisynagogues is both highly improbable in and substantiated by the sources'.⁹⁹ Hengel notes, in support of his 279–80 dating of the inscription, that it is not possible to expect a reference to the office of the Patriarch before R. Judah I ha-Nasi (ca.175-225).¹⁰⁰ However, Habas-Rubin suggests that if the inscription is dated to 163–4 CE the patriarch referred to is R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (ca.145-175) although almost nothing is known of his political activities.¹⁰¹ However, the inscription is less likely to refer to a specific person than to the office of the Patriarch in general. A local connection between the Jewish community in Stobi and the Patriarch in Palestine is not impossible. The reference to this particular office suggests that Polycharmus

⁹⁵ Sukenik 1934, 80.

⁹⁶ Habas-Rubin 2001, 44.

⁹⁷ Hengel 1966, 152; Poehlman 1981, 244–5; Habas-Rubin 2001.

⁹⁸ Juster 1914, i 402–5; Krauss 1927, 145, 155–9; Vulić 1932, 297; Millar 1992, 98-100; Linder 1986, 132–5 no.9; Cohen 1987, 171–2; Levine 2000, 437–8.

⁹⁹ Linder 1987 203, n. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Hengel 1966, 153–6; Levine 1979, 655-9.

¹⁰¹ Habas-Rubin 2001, 60, 68 n.102.

was concerned about a possible action against his will from the local Jewish community.

Il.27–8. The sum of 250,000 denarii set as a fine for breaching Polycharmus' will is very high. This has led some commentators to date the inscription to the late 3rd century (Heichelhaim, Hengel, Lifshitz, Feissel) or even the late 4th century (Bickerman, Cohen, Jacobs). However, even for the rate of inflation in the late 3rd and during the 4th century this was a substantial sum of money.¹⁰² It is clear, then, that the sum was supposed to act as a deterrent.¹⁰³ It was a symbolic sum which no-one could ever envisage paying in reality and thus change Polycharmus' provisions legally. Similar practice is evidenced in a 3rd or 4th century Jewish epitaph from Philippi where the fine for desecrating the grave is 1,000,000 denarii (*Mac14*). It is also attested in non-Jewish epitaphs. A sarcophagus inscription from Thessaloniki sets a fine of 1,000,000 denarii for the opening of the sarcophagus¹⁰⁴ and another sarcophagus inscription from Gallipoli stipulates fines of 1,000,000 denarii paid to the Imperial treasury and of 3,000,000 denarii paid to the city (3rd century CE?).¹⁰⁵

Il.29–33. Robert notes that the provision for the repair of the roof-tiles of the building was added later, perhaps to underline Polycharmus' right of ownership of the the upper rooms.¹⁰⁶

Frey, Heichelhaim, Hengel, Robert, Lifshitz, Millar, Feissel and Claußen date the inscription to the end of the 3rd century CE while Vulic, Frey, Poehlman and Habas-Rubin prefer the late 2nd century. The arguments in support of a late 3rd century date are the excessive fine set by Polycharmus and the mentioning of the

¹⁰² Feldman 1993, 484 n.132; Habas-Rubin 2001, 57–8.

¹⁰³ Poehlman 1981, 245; Habas-Rubin 2001, 58.

¹⁰⁴ IG x.2.1, 591.

¹⁰⁵ IGRR i, 819.

office of the Patriarch in Palestine. On the same basis Bickerman and Jacobs dated the inscription to the 4th century CE!¹⁰⁷ It seems however that the high sum of Polycharmus' fine is not related to the level of inflation in the Roman Empire in the 3rd and 4th centuries but was set up to stop any possible change of his will. Vulić dates the inscription to 163 CE on the basis of his reconstruction of the first line of the inscription, which however is problematic. Poehlman's and, partly, Habas-Rubin both accept the restoration of the year 163/4 CE and use the archaeological data from Synagogue I to confirm it. Habas-Rubin also notes that certain paleographic features like the lack of lunate letters and the use of ligatures also point to a late 2nd century date.¹⁰⁸ Those palaeographic features were, however, also characteristic of the early 3rd century and, as Wiseman and White note, the archaeological data from Synagogue I can be dated either to the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE. Lietzmann, Danov, and Goodman also suggest a late 2nd or early 3rd century CE date for the inscription. It is preferable then to date Polycharmus' inscription broadly to the late 2nd or early 3rd century, not to a specific year.

Mac2. Seal (Pl. XIV, fig. 1)

Editions: Popović, Mano-Zissi, Veličković and Jeličić 1969, 158 no.343.

Illustrations: Popović et al. (photo).

Other bibliography: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 411 n.105; Mano-Zissi 1981, 119; Habas-Rubin 2001, 73.

Found at Stobi. Now: Belgrade, National Museum, inv.no.66-IV.

Details: Bronze seal, 5 x 10 cm., with two vertical holes in the middle.

Language: Greek. Date: 6th century CE.

Text (follows Popović et al. 1969 photo):

Εὐ (menorah) στ-
αθ-(ethrog) (lulab) ἰου

¹⁰⁶ Robert 1968, 479.

¹⁰⁷ Bickerman 1986, 252, n. 28; Jacobs 1995, 246-7.

¹⁰⁸ Papazoglou 1963, 522-4; Wiseman *ap.* Habas-Rubin 2001, 51.

Of Eustathius.

The seal was found in the 1930s, but it is not clear exactly where. Wiseman & Mano-Zissi report that it was found 'in a deposit below the floor of one of the rooms east of the forecourt of the basilica.' However, in an article published ten years later Mano-Zissi states that it was found in one of the sewage pipes under the forecourt of the 'House of Psalms'.¹⁰⁹ The object is clearly a seal, not a plaque as stated by Wiseman and Habas-Rubin.

The seal is rectangular in shape. The *menorah* is inscribed in the centre and has a tripod base. The vertical holes in the middle indicate that the seal was re-used, perhaps attached to another object or nailed to a wall. Similar bronze seals are preserved in the British Museum (Sardis?; 3rd–5th century CE),¹¹⁰ Collection Froehner, Cabinet des Médailles (Trabzon; 5th–7th century)¹¹¹ and Museo Nazionale Romano (Italy?; 3rd–5th century CE).¹¹² The seal was used to stamp property, as the genitive form of the name indicates. Eustathius is found as the name of a *theosebes* in the synagogue inscription from Philadelphia in Lydia (3rd century CE),¹¹³ but otherwise unattested on Jewish inscriptions or papyri.

Popović et al. date the seal to the 6th century CE, but an earlier date is also possible.

Mac3. Donor inscription

Editions: Unpublished material from the archaeological reports of the Stobi expedition from the 1974 season.¹¹⁴

Other bibliography: Wiseman 1974, 148; Habas-Rubin 2001, 74.

Found at Stobi (Stobi inv.no.I-78-6a-I). Present whereabouts unknown.

¹⁰⁹ Mano-Zissi 1981, 119.

¹¹⁰ Dalton 1901, 99 no.487; Reifenberg 1939, 194 no.3.

¹¹¹ Feissel 2001, 13 no.6.

¹¹² Reifenberg 1939, 194 no.4.

¹¹³ Lifshitz 1967, no.28.

¹¹⁴ Material included with the permission of Prof. James Wiseman, Faculty of Archaeology, University of Boston, USA.

Details: White marble plaque, broken into many pieces re-used as *opus sectile*. Letters in 1.2 occupy a space 64.5 cm. wide (Wiseman). Letters: 3.4–3.5 cm. (fragments a–e), 3.1 cm. (fragment f), 1–2.5 cm. (fragments g–k) (Wiseman). Letter forms: Quadrate *omicron*; all letters have serifs (Wiseman). Language: Greek. Date: 2nd–3rd century CE. Text (follows Wiseman's notes):

[κατὰ ἐὸχ]ήν.
 [Κ]λαύ[διος] Τιβ[ήρι]ος Πο[λύχαρ]μος ὁ [πατήρ].
 [- - - - -]ρις[- - - - -]ΠΟ[- - - - -].

1 = fragment e (Wiseman)

2 = each group of letters represents fragments a, b, c, d, respectively (Wiseman)

Ligatures: 2 ΟΣ, ΟΣ

...according to a vow. Claudius Tiberius Polycharmus the father...

These fragments were found during the 1973/4 season of the archaeological excavations of Stobi. According to the short notice of Wiseman & Mano-Zissi in their 1974 report, the fragments were re-used in an *opus sectile* floor of Synagogue II. The *opus sectile* was found near the doorway of the north wall (W2) in the main room of Synagogue II. Parts of this room were situated under the north aisle of the Central Basilica. The *sectile* fragments were found some with face up, others with face down. The mosaic and the fragments were photographed and drawn (Stobi Drawing no.78-278) and then removed from the site.

The inscription was inscribed and painted in red and all letters have serifs. The opening formula is almost identical to the inscription on the plaster fragments from the South wall of Synagogue I (Mac5-6). It is worth noting that the name of the donor is rendered in the same way as in the inscription from the column: the *nomen* of Polycharmus is placed before his *praenomen*. According to Wiseman there were no traces of letters in fragment 1, but a grooved frame line is visible. 11.1 and 2 may have been written as a single line.

Another inscription was discovered in a new section of the mosaic under the narthex of the Central Basilica, but 'the mosaic is unfortunately built over just at that point by the foundation for the threshold leading to the atrium corridor.'¹¹⁵

The plaque was quite possibly part of Polycharmus' property arrangements, which he made after the donation of part of his house. It was placed on or built into one of the walls of Synagogue I (late 2nd / early 3rd century CE). It is worth noting that the plaque and other inscriptions set up by Polycharmus himself were not preserved and placed in Synagogue II. This could indicate that his successors did not follow the strict property regulations in his column inscription and that the 4th-century Jewish community in Stobi did not associate the building exclusively with his donation.

Wiseman dates the inscription to the 2nd or 3rd century CE on palaeographic grounds. This is consistent with the dating proposed above for #Mac1, with which it is presumably contemporary.

Mac4. Graffiti

Editions: Unpublished material from the archaeological reports of the Stobi expedition 1970 season.¹¹⁶

Other bibliography: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1970, 410; Habas-Rubin 2001, 74.

Found at Stobi. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Graffiti on plaster. Letters: 1–2 cm. (Wiseman).

Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE.

Text (follows Wiseman's notes):

Kop[- -]

The plaster fragments with graffiti were discovered in 1968 during the excavations of the Central Basilica conducted by the Conservation Institute of Macedonia. They were found lying on the floor of the central room of Synagogue II, but it is

¹¹⁵ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1974, 148.

uncertain exactly where. The fragments were removed, but left on site, when the mosaic of the central room was lifted for conservation. Wiseman & Mano-Zissi note that the interior walls of the central room were decorated with painted frescoes of geometric figures. The graffiti fragments were broken all around and preserved in a poor condition. There are two main groups fragments designated by Wiseman as: A-70-95, fragments A-G, and A-68-2, a single piece with a longer text. The fragments contain parts of several words, including a frequently repeated Kop[- -] . The letters of the graffiti were written on the plaster with a sharp point. Other plaster fragments contained parts of continuous text and names.¹¹⁷ The plaster was part of the decoration of Synagogue II and could be dated to the early 4th century CE.

Mac5. Vow of Polycharmus (Pl. XIV, fig. 2)

Editions: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408; Wiseman 1984, 296–301; SEG xxxiv 1984, no. 679 (from Wiseman); White 1997, 355 n.123.

Illustrations: Wiseman and Mano-Zissi 1971, pl.90, fig.21 (photo); Wiseman 1984, fig.8 (photo); Habas-Rubin 2001, 73–4.

Other bibliography: BE 1972, no.256c; Wiseman & Georgievski 1975, 174; Poehlman 1981, 236; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 67–8.

Found at Stobi. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Dipinto in *tabula ansata* on fresco. Letters: 4–2 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd–3rd century CE(?)

Text (follows SEG xxxiv 1984):

Πολύχα[ρ]-
μος ὁ πα[τ]-
ήρ] εὐχήν.

Polycharmus the father, as a vow.

The fragments of the fresco were discovered in 1970 in a thin stratum of burnt remains and pottery shards under the bedding for the mosaic in the central room of

¹¹⁶ Material included with the permission of Prof. James Wiseman, Faculty of Archaeology, University of Boston, USA.

¹¹⁷ Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1970, 410 n.101.

Synagogue II. According to Wiseman the frescoes were part of the decoration of the south wall of Synagogue I. Some of the frescoes had letters and when they were put together revealed a number of *dipinti* with identical text. The *dipinti* are set in *tabulae ansatae*. They were without doubt part of the decoration of the walls of the ground floor of Polycharmus synagogue.

Wiseman dates the *dipinti* to the late 2nd-3rd century CE.

Mac6. Vow of Polycharmus (Pl. XIV, fig. 3)

Editions: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 408; Wiseman 1984, 296–301; SEG xxxiv 1984, no. 679 (from Wiseman); White 1997, 355 n.123.

Illustrations: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, pl.90, fig.21 (photo); Wiseman 1984, fig. 8 (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1972, no.256c; Wiseman & Georgievski 1975, 174; Poehlman 1981, 236; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 67–8; Habas-Rubin 2001, 73–4.

Found at Stobi. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Dipinto in *tabula ansata* on fresco. Measurements unavailable.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd-3rd century CE(?)

Text (follows SEG xxxiv 1984):

[Πολύ]χαρμος
[ὁ] πατήρ
εὐχήν.

1. The letters -ος in [Πολύ]χαρμος are considerably smaller, perhaps originally missed and painted later.

Polycharmus the father as a vow.

Discovered together with Mac5. Dipinto in *tabula ansata*.

Mac7. Votive inscription of Posidonia (Pl. XIV, fig. 4)

Edition: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971, 410.

Illustration: Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971.

Other bibliography: Poehlman 1981, 237; White 1997, 347; Habas-Rubin 2001, 74.

Found at Stobi. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Copper plaque, 7.9 x 4.7 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd-3rd century CE(?)

Text (follows Wiseman & Mano-Zissi 1971):

Ποσιδ-
ονία Θεῷ(ι)
Ἀγιῷ(ι)
εὐχὴν.

Posidonia to the Holy God, as a vow.

This votive plaque was discovered in 1970 under the tiles underpinning the mosaic floor of Synagogue II, near the centre of the nave of the Central Basilica. The plaque has the shape of a *tabula ansata*. Holes for nails are visible on the photo in the right *ansa* and above the Π in l.1.¹¹⁸ According to Wiseman & Manozissi it was attached to some sort offering in Synagogue I. They suggest that the term Θεός Ἅγιος refers to the God of Israel. Although the term is used with this meaning in the LXX,¹¹⁹ it was also part of the religious vocabulary of the Graeco-Roman world and often applied to pagan deities.¹²⁰ In Jewish inscriptions the epithet ἅγιος usually refers to the building of the synagogue (ἅγιος τοπος, ἁγιοτάτη συναγωγή). There are only two cases in which the epithet is applied to the God of Israel: a bronze amulet from Sofiana, Sicily (3rd-5th century CE)¹²¹ and, possibly, a dedication to a synagogue from Egypt.¹²² The term occurs in non-Jewish inscriptions applied to oriental deities like Isis, Serapis and Baal (e.g. at Suf, near Gerasa).¹²³ However, it does not occur in pagan use in Macedonia and is attested only in Christian inscriptions from Greece: in inscriptions from Thessaly¹²⁴, Mistra¹²⁵, Peloponnessos¹²⁶ and Crete¹²⁷ we find the

¹¹⁸ Cf. CIJ ii 878 for a plaque of similar shape.

¹¹⁹ IChr. 16.10, 16.35; Ps. 32.21, 102.1, etc.

¹²⁰ Meimaris 1986, 14-16.

¹²¹ JIWE i 159.

¹²² JIGRE 127.

¹²³ OGIS ii 620.2; Beirut: OGIS ii 590.1; TNDT ii, 88-9.

¹²⁴ Soteriou 1929, 107.

¹²⁵ Millet 1899, 149, no. 48, l.1.

¹²⁶ SEG xxxiii, 311.

¹²⁷ ICret iv 471-3.

designation ἅγιος ὁ θεός. In these inscriptions, however, its usage is based on the *Trisagion* hymn from the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil (ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς), which became very popular after the council of Chalcedon (451 CE). It is much more likely, then, that the plaque represents a Jewish dedication than pagan.

The name Posidonia (Ποσιδονία) is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri. The find-spot of the plaque suggests that it was earlier than Synagogue II and probably belonged to Synagogue I. It could therefore be dated, according to *Mac1*, but it could be later than Polycharmus' foundation of the building.

Beroea

Beroea is mentioned for the first time in 432 BCE by Thucydides.¹²⁸ It is not clear, however, when the city was founded. It was the first of the Roman cities to surrender to the Romans after the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE and was later assigned to the third region of Macedonia.¹²⁹ From the time of Augustus the city was the seat of the Macedonian assembly. It was made a Roman *colonia* during the reign of Decius. According to tradition Onesimus, the slave from the Epistle of Philemon, was the first bishop of the city. The bishopric of Beroea was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Thessalonica. The NT account of Paul's journeys evidences that he and Silas fled to Beroea (Acts 17.10–15) after they were expelled by the Jewish community of Thessaloniki. They were joined later by Timothy. Paul and his disciples were received well by the Beroean Jews and Paul successfully converted many of them as well as many prominent Greeks (Acts 17. 10-11). According to the

¹²⁸ Thucydides 1.61.4.

¹²⁹ Livy 44.45; 45.29.

passage there was a synagogue in Beroea. Paul and his disciples were again expelled this time after representatives of the Jewish community of Thessaloniki arrived in Beroea and incited an opposition against them. Timothy and Silas remained in Beroea and later rejoined Paul in Corinth (Acts 18.5). Paul was later accompanied by Sopater of Beroea who may have been converted during Paul's brief stay in the city (Acts 20.4). The epigraphic evidence is much later than the period described in Acts.

Mac8. Epitaph of Joses of Alexandria (Pl. XIV, fig. 5)

Editions: Orlandos 1916, 163, no.32 (squeeze); Robert 1937, 83; Robert 1946, 104–5; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.694a; RICM 1983, no.294 (from the stone); JIGRE 1992, no.143 (follows RICM); Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos 1998, 387–8 no.454.

Illustrations: Orlandos 163 (squeeze); RICM 1983, pl. 65 (photo from the stone); Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos 1998, 639, fig. 454 (photo from the stone).

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 67; Levinskaya 1996, 157.

Unknown provenance. Now: Beroea, Byzantine Collection, inv.no.16 (old 499).

Details: Reused grey marble plaque broken at the base and (after 1916) top right corner, 50 x 30 x 7 cm. (Orlandos) or 52 x 30 x 8 cm (RICM). Letters: 2 cm. Space between lines: 3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th century CE(?)

Text (follows RICM 1983 and photo):

μημούρων
Ἰωσῆς Ἀλεξ<v>δρέου(ς)
ιοῖως Παριγορί-
ου. (*ethrog*) (*shofar*) (*menorah*) (*lulab*)

Ligatures: 2 OY, 4 OY

2. The letters AE, originally missed by the stone cutter, are written over AA; ξ is represented very crudely; N and the final Σ are omitted.

1. RICM, JIGRE: μημόριον

2. Orlandos: [Ἰ]ωάννο[υ] κ<ε> Ἀδρέου; Robert, CIJ: [Ἰ]ωάννο[υ] κ<ε> Ἀνδρέου

2. 1. Ἀλεξανδρέως

3. Robert: υἱός or υἱών; 1. υἱοῦ

Memorial of Joses of Alexandria, son of Parigorius.

This inscription was recorded by Charles Avezou in 1913 near the town hall of Beroia. It was subsequently moved to the local gymnasium where a small museum

was arranged at that time. Avezou's copy has never been published and, according to Feissel, is now kept in the archive of the French School at Athens. Orlandos published the inscription three years later.

Feissel notes that the form $\mu\eta\mu\acute{o}\rho\eta\omega\nu$ for $\mu\eta\mu\acute{o}\rho\iota\omega\nu$ in l.1 is extremely rare in inscriptions, and corresponds to the vocalic rendering $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\rho\iota\omega\nu$ known from Syria.

The nominative Ἰωσήϛ is created by subtraction of the final $-\phi$ in Ἰωσήφ to make it declinable.¹³⁰ The name was popular among Jews and is found in other inscriptions from the Balkans (*Moes1*, *Ach51*, *Ach53*). The name Parigorius, a form of the Hebrew Menachem, was widely used by Jews and is attested in Thessaloniki and Phthiotic Thebes (*Ach21*). It also occurs on an epitaph, dated to the 4th century, from Thessaloniki considered Christian by Feissel: [----] | [Μα]κε[δ]ονίου καὶ Παρεγ[ο]ρίου ἐκ τῶν ἐδίων. ('... of Macedonius and Paregorius from their own resources').¹³¹

Jews from Alexandria are also attested in inscriptions from Rome, Milan, Jaffa, Khirbet Hebra, Tiberias, Jerusalem.¹³²

Feissel tentatively dates the inscription to the 5th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Mac9. Epitaph of Maria (Pl. XIV, fig. 6)

Editions: Delacoulonche 1859, 267, no.85; Dimitsas 1896, 80, no.89; Papageorgiou 1908, 7–8; Robert 1937, 83–5; Robert 1946, 105–7; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.694b; RICM 1983, no.295; Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos 1998, 388–9 no.455.

Illustrations: Robert 1946, pl. 5 (squeeze); RICM 1983, pl. 65 (photo from the stone); Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos 1998, 639, fig. 455 (photo from the stone).

Other bibliography: Robert 1960, 391; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 67; Tataki 1988, 454–5, n. 239; Levinskaya 1996a, 157.

¹³⁰ Mussies 1994, 251.

¹³¹ RICM 1983, no. 193, pl. xlvi.

¹³² JIGRE 141–2, 145–53.

Found at Beroia. Now: Church of the Holy Mother of God *Gorgoepikoos* (Παναγίας Γοργοεπηκόου), Beroia.

Details: White marble plaque, upper right corner broken, 59 x 38 cm. (RICM) or 61 x 41 cm. (Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos). Letters: 4–1.5 cm. Space between lines: 0.9–2 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th–5th century CE (?).

Text (follows RICM 1983):

τῆς ὁσ[ίας]	
Μαρέας τάφο[ς],	
Τερτίας δὲ καὶ	
Λεοντίου θυγάτη[ρ]	
ἐπέγραψα ἐγὼ	5
Ἀλέξανδρος	
ὁ γαμβρὸς μῆσ-	
κόμενος τῆς εἰ[ῶ]-	
εργεσίας αὐτῆς.	
<ἐάν> τις ἀνύξῃ	10
τὸν τάφον	
δώσῃ τῇ ἀγιωτά[τῃ]	
συν<α>γω(γῇ) ἀρ(γύρου) λί(τρων) α'.	

1. Delacoulonche, Dimitsas, Robert 1946: THCOC
2. Papageorgiou: Μάρθας
2. Delacoulonche: ΤΑΦΟ
2. Dimitsas: τάφο[ς?]
2. Robert 1946: τάφος?
4. Delacoulonche: ΟΥΓΑΤΗ
4. Delacoulonche: ΕΠΕΓΡΑΨΑΤΩ
- 4-5. Dimitsas: Οὐ γὰρ ἐπεγράψατο
- 7-8. Dimitsas: μ[ι]ν]ησκόμενος; Robert 1946, CIJ: μ(ν)εσκόμενος for μησκόμενος
10. CAHTIC on the stone
10. Delacoulonche: ΑΜΕΝ
10. Dimitsas: --ητις ἀνοίξῃ; Robert 1937, 1960: ἡ τις ἀνύξῃ; Robert 1946, CIJ: ἐά(ν) τις ἀνύξῃ
12. ΔΩCH on the stone
12. Dimitsas, CIJ i² 1975: δώσει
13. CYNΓΩ on the stone
13. Dimitsas: συναγωγ[ῇ]
13. ΑΡΑΙΑ on the stone
13. Delacoulonche: ΑΡΑΙΑ; Dimitsas: (δην)άρια; Robert 1946: ΑΡΑΙΑ for λί(τρων) α' (μίαν); CIJ: λί(τρων) (μίαν)

Tomb of the pious Maria, daughter of Tertia and Leontius. (I), Alexander her son-in-law, inscribed (this inscription), in remembrance of her kind deeds. If anyone opens the tomb, he must pay to the most holy synagogue one pound of silver.

Delacoulonche copied the inscription in 1855 in the church of the Holy Mother of God *Gorgoepikoos*. The stone is embedded in the floor of the right side of the

nave in front of the altar. Since Delacoulonche's publication, the inscription has been copied by Plassart in 1914, Robert in 1932 and Cormack & Edson in 1936. Feissel in RICH notes that since Robert's publication of a squeeze the inscription has been partly effaced.

1.1. The feminine gen.sing. form of the adjective ὅσιος has been proposed by Lifshitz, who notes the frequent occurrence of the word in Jewish inscriptions from Rome and Beth Shear'im.¹³³ It is usually found in inscriptions that include an enumeration of virtues.¹³⁴ In the Greek tradition the meaning of ὅσιος is usually dependant on its relation to δίκαιος ('righteous'). Thus, ὅσιος could mean, in opposition to δίκαιος, something sanctioned by divine law, a holy or pious, devoted or religious person (LSJ, s.v.). Lifshitz observes that due to their frequent use in inscriptions the terms ὅσιος and δίκαιος lost their special meanings and became interchangeable.¹³⁵ The LXX uses ὅσιος to translate the Hebrew terms הַסִּידִּים and הַסִּידִּים meaning 'pious' and 'piety'.¹³⁶ The 'pious' were those who have fulfilled the obligation of the covenant with the God of Israel and will enjoy everlasting life.¹³⁷ Noy notes that ὅσιος is also applied in salutation formulae with its primary meaning of 'holy' when referring to the biblical patriarchs.¹³⁸ In the NT ὅσιος designates people engaged in righteous and lawful deeds before God.¹³⁹ Horbury and Noy note that the word is also used in Jewish inscriptions as a designation of a respected contemporary or relative.¹⁴⁰ This seems to be the case

¹³³ JIWE ii 127, 171, 173, 209, 212, 227, 236, 257, 347, 373, 376, 552, 564, 571; BS ii, nos. 34–5, 126, 157, 163, 173, 193.

¹³⁴ Smith 1980, 17–8.

¹³⁵ BS ii, 22.

¹³⁶ Deut. 29.18, 32.4, 33.8; Ps. 11.12, 13.35, 17.26, 30.4, 49.5; Prov. 29.5; Is. 55.3; Amos 5.10, etc. Cf. TDNT v, 490–1.

¹³⁷ Ps. 12.1, 18.26, 32.6; Ps.Sol. 12.8(6), 14.2(3), etc.

¹³⁸ JIGRE 33; JIWE i 174; JIWE ii 50.

¹³⁹ TDNT v, 492.

¹⁴⁰ JIGRE 33.

with the present inscription, which was set up by the son-in-law of the deceased woman. The adjective ὀσίος is used to represent her, following the common Greek convention, as a pious and devout woman because of her 'good deeds'. This is indicated by the use of the term εὐεργεσία in ll.7–8, which could also imply that Maria has distinguished herself as a benefactress (cf. the use of the term for King Herod, *Ach*38–9, and in the two honorific Samaritan inscriptions from Delos, *Ach*71–2).

1.2. Feissel notes that the form Μαρέα of the name Μαρία is very rare. Leontius (Λεόντιος) was a popular choice of name among Jews and is well attested epigraphically (cf. *Ach*20 (fem.); *Ach*34). Robert gives many examples of Jews bearing that name and explains its popularity with the symbol of the tribe of Judah – the lion.¹⁴¹ However, Leontius/-ia was also a very popular Roman name. Tertia (Τερτία) occurs in a Jewish inscription from Cyrenaica.¹⁴²

1.5. The term ἐπέγραψα occurs in only two other inscriptions from Macedonia (non-Jewish ones from Thessaloniki).¹⁴³ This is a legal term, which designates the person responsible for the construction of a grave monument or a tomb and indicates his/her right of property over it.¹⁴⁴

ll.7–8. The form μησκόμενος is part of a group of words in which the ν in μν has been dropped. This phonetic phenomenon occurs frequently on inscriptions from the 4th century onwards (cf. μείας χάριν in *IG* IX, 2, 1311; μέμησθε in Thessaloniki).¹⁴⁵

ll.10–13. On the final formula with a set fine for the violation of the grave and the term ἀγιοτάτη συναγωγῇ, see *Ach*23. Robert notes that the setting of the fine

¹⁴¹ Robert 1958, 42 n.7.

¹⁴² CJZC, App. no.8.

¹⁴³ *IG* x. 2.1 560, 588.

in pounds or litres of gold or silver was characteristic of the 4th or 5th century CE.¹⁴⁶ In Beroea there are two more inscriptions that set a fine in litres of gold.¹⁴⁷

Robert and Feissel date the inscription to the 4th or 5th century CE on palaeographic grounds and because of the nature of the fine.

Mac10. Epitaph of Theodosius (Pl. XV, fig. 1)

Edition: Koukouvou 1999, 16–20, no.1.

Illustration: Koukouvou 1999, pl. 1 (photo from the stone).

Other bibliography: Ameling 2003, 246.

Found at Beroia. Now: Beroea, Archaeological Museum, inv.no. Α 872.

Details: White marble stele, piece broken from the left side of the front surface under 1.5. Measurements: 92 x 23 x 12 cm. Letters: 2–3.5 cm. Space between lines: 0.7–1.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE or later.

Text (follows Koukouvou 1999 and photo):

(*menorah*) Τάφος
 Θεοδοσί-
 ου Ἑβρέου
 μελοπρεσ-
 βυτέρου τρι- 5
 [έ]του ΝΙΑΣ
 [...]ΣΤΟΥ.

4–5. ἰ. μελλοπρεσβυτέρου

5–6. Koukouvou: ΤΡΙ[...]ΤΟΥΝΙΑΣ

5–6. τρι[ς] τοῦ also possible

Tomb of Theodosius the Hebrew, mellopresbyteros, three years old (?)

The inscription was found, together with *Mac11*, in 1995 during a rescue excavation of nine graves at the junction of Kidonochoriou and Aspasia streets in the south-eastern part of modern Beroia. According to Koukouvou, this was a chance find, which did not belong with any of the excavated graves. This is the third Jewish inscription found in Beroea and the first of a group (*Mac10-13*) of

¹⁴⁴ Robert 1974, 230.

¹⁴⁵ IG x.2.1, 436; Nachmanson 1913, 247–8.

¹⁴⁶ Robert 1946, 106–7 and notes.

¹⁴⁷ Gounaropoulou & Hatzopoulos 1998, nos. 369, 445 (five litres of gold).

four discovered in the period between 1997 and 1999 in the excavated area of Aspasia street.

The *menorah* has a tripod base and a crossbar. The whole inscription has been executed very carefully and the *menorah* has almost the same height as the first letter of the inscription. The surface is carefully tooled and only the bottom of the stone is left rough to keep the monument above the ground.

The name Theodosius (Θεοδόσιος) was not popular among Diasporan Jews. It occurs in inscriptions from Cyrenaica¹⁴⁸ and the feminine form Θεοδοσία occurs in a metric epitaph of uncertain Jewishness from Rome.¹⁴⁹

Two of the four Jewish inscriptions found during the 1995–9 excavations at Beroia refer to the deceased as Ἑβραῖος. This is only the second occurrence of the term in inscriptions from the Balkans – the other one is an inscription from Corinth (*Ach*47). In general, the term is not attested epigraphically before the 3rd century CE. It occurs in inscriptions dated between the 3rd and 6th century CE from Naples, Rome and in graffiti from the *odeum* in Aphrodisias.¹⁵⁰ The exact meaning of the term is much debated. According to Hengel and Smith the term possibly indicates Jews, immigrants from Palestine who preserved a close connection with the homeland.¹⁵¹ Some authors have suggested it was used for Aramaic-speaking Jews (following Philo's usage).¹⁵² Harvey thinks the term was used as a self-designation by pious and conservative Jews in the Diaspora.¹⁵³ Van der Horst notes that when used together with συναγωγή at Corinth and in

¹⁴⁸ CJZC app. 1.

¹⁴⁹ JIGRE 141.

¹⁵⁰ JIWE i 33, 35, 37; JIWE ii 2, 33, 44, 108, 112, 559, 561, 578–9; Harvey 1998, 134, nos.13a–b, 14.

¹⁵¹ Hengel 1975, 169; Smith 1980, 19.

¹⁵² *Abr.* 17, 28, 57; *Spec. Leg.* 2.41; *Somn.* 2.250; Cf. de Lange 1976, 30.

¹⁵³ Harvey 1998, 132, 145–7.

Pamphylia¹⁵⁴ Ἐβραῖος represented the need of the local Jewish communities to distinguish themselves from other religious or ethnic groups.¹⁵⁵ It is fair to say that it is not possible to draw any conclusion about the meaning of Ἐβραῖος in the Beroean inscriptions. It may have had any of the above mentioned meanings or none. As de Lange has noted it is unsafe to make generalisations based on analogies between evidence stemming from different periods or coming from different parts of the Roman Empire.¹⁵⁶

The title μελ(λ)οπρεσβύτερος has not been attested before on Jewish inscriptions. It designates a person who is going to hold the office (a presbyter-to-be). On the title πρεσβύτερος *Thr3*. The titles μελλάρχων (and the Latin equivalent *mellarcon*) and μελλογραμματεὺς occur in inscriptions from Rome.¹⁵⁷ This type of title was sometimes borne by children, but also by adults, e.g. a *mellarcon* aged 38 in *JIWE* ii 179; a μελλογραμματεὺς aged 24 in *JIWE* ii 231.

11.5–6. Koukouvou's suggestion that the surviving letters ΤΠΙ[...]ΤΟΥΝΙΑΣ indicate that the deceased may have held a position in a professional organisation or society (τριτουνία) similar to a δεκανία is not very plausible. It seems that the letters ΤΠΙ[...]ΤΟΥ can be restored more conveniently as τρι[έ]του, i.e. they indicate the age of the deceased. The missing letter ε was most probably with the same size as the first ε in l. 1 & 4. Theodosius was a three-year-old μελ(λ)οπρεσβύτερος. Young children holding honorary titles are attested in epitaphs from Rome.¹⁵⁸ In *JIWE* ii 100 we have a μελλάρχων aged 2 years and 10 days, and in *JIWE* ii 288 and 337 an ἄρχων νήπιος ('a child archon'), the former

¹⁵⁴ Lifshitz 1967, no.28.

¹⁵⁵ van der Horst 1991, 87–8; van Henten 1994, 52–3.

¹⁵⁶ de Lange 1976, 30.

¹⁵⁷ *JIWE* ii 100–1; 179–80; 231; 259; 404.

¹⁵⁸ van der Horst 1991, 89–90.

aged 8 years and 2 months. Another possibility is to restore the *lacuna* as τρι[ς] τοῦ, i.e. the deceased was a μελ(λ)οπρεσβύτερος for a third time, but this is less likely.

ll.6–7. The letters ΝΙΑΣ[...]ΣΤΟΥ are unintelligible. However, they may well be a part of some sort of concluding salutation formula or the patronymic of the deceased child.

Koukouvou dates the inscription to the second half of the 4th century CE or earlier on palaeographic grounds, but a later date is possible as well.

Mac11. Epitaph (Pl. XV, figs 2-3)

Editions: Koukouvou 1999, 20–2 no.2 (from the stone).

Illustrations: Koukouvou, pls.2–3 (photo from the stone).

Found at Beroia. Now: Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv.no. Α 873.

Details: Marble stele, 65 x 40 x 5 cm., right corner broken but attached to the main body of the stone; upper part of the stone missing. Letters: 1.8–3.5 cm. Space between lines: 0.8–2 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: first half of the 4th century CE(?)

Text (follows Koukouvou 1999 and photo):

[- - - - -]
[..... προφερé-
<σ>τατος ὕμνοις
Ἑβρέων Γέρας
ἐνθάδε κίτε.

...most renowned in hymns (of the) Hebrews, Gera [or Geras or an old man] lies here.

Found together with *Mac10*. This is the first Jewish metric epitaph from Beroea and only the third attested in the Balkans – the other two examples are from Larissa in Thessaly (*Ach1-2*). Koukouvou notes that the surviving lines from the epigram are in dactylic hexameter and suggests that the missing part of the inscription had the name of the deceased person in the nominative. This suggestion, however, warrants a close examination.

The word *προφερέστατος*, from *προφερός* ('preferred', 'excellent'), is a poetic superlative adjective often used by Homer¹⁵⁹ and in metric inscriptions from Rome, Ostia, Trachonitis and Nea Isaura.¹⁶⁰ In these inscriptions, however, *προφερέστατος* is used as an adjective applied directly to the deceased person.

Koukouvou suggests that the word *ὑμνοῖς* (masc. dat. pl. of *ὑμνος*) indicates that the deceased person was a psalm singer in a synagogue whose exceptional abilities were commemorated. This is unlikely. LXX uses *ὑμνος* as a substitute for Hebrew terms like *הלל* or *תפלה* and always refers to a song in praise of the God of Israel or prayer.¹⁶¹ In the OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the term has almost the same meaning.¹⁶² The hymns were sung by individuals, the people of Israel in general or, during the Second Temple period, by the Temple-singers (*ὑμνοδός*).¹⁶³ The LXX usage of *ὑμνος* is almost identical to the classical Greek one where it means a song of praise for the gods, heroes or conquerors (LSJ, s.v.). This also applies to Josephus's use of the term.¹⁶⁴ Thus, it would be appropriate to read in the phrase *προφερέστατος ὑμνοῖς* that the deceased person was praised (i.e. commemorated) with hymns.¹⁶⁵

The exact meaning of *γέρας* in the next line of the inscription is more problematic. Koukouvou follows the common translation of *γέρας* as the last honours presented to the dead (LSJ, s.v.).¹⁶⁶ It occurs quite often with this meaning in pagan and Christian metric epitaphs.¹⁶⁷ However, it seems that in this

¹⁵⁹ *Od.* 8.128, 221, etc.

¹⁶⁰ 2nd–3rd century CE; Peek 1955, nos.358, 403, 1404, 1732 (3rd–4th century); IG xii.5. 678.

¹⁶¹ 1Esdr. 5.58; 2Esdr. (Ezr-Neh) 22.46; Ps. 39.4, 64.2, 71.20, 118.171, 136.3, 148.14; Isa. 42.10, etc.

¹⁶² Jdt. 16.13; 1Macc. 4.33, 13.47, 13.51; 2Macc. 1.30, 10.7, 10.38; 12.37; Ps.Sol. 10.1, etc.

¹⁶³ Josephus, *BJ* 2.321; *AJ* 7.364; 8.94; 11.70; 20. 216–17.

¹⁶⁴ *AJ* 2. 346, 3.64, 6.166–8, 6.214, 7.305, 8.124, 9.269, 11.157, 12.323, 19.104, 20.218, etc.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Peek 1955, no.642, for a similar expression including *ὑμνοῖς*.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 16.457.

¹⁶⁷ Koukouvou 1999, 22, n.48.

inscription it is actually a personal name. Γέρας could be treated in three possible ways. Firstly, and most probably, it could be the gen. sing. (probably used by mistake for nom.) of the feminine name Γέρρα.¹⁶⁸ It is known that some feminine personal names were declined -ας in gen. in the late Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁶⁹ The single ρ is explained with the common practice, during the same periods, to simplify contiguous identical consonants like ρρ to a single consonant.¹⁷⁰ Secondly, it could be interpreted as a masculine personal name - Γέρας. Bechtel notes a stem of hypocoristic Greek names, like Γέρων, Γέρως, Γέρυς, based on names ending on -γερίς, -γερός, -γερας.¹⁷¹ This, however, is less likely (although it could fit in the context) as a masculine name Γέρας has not been attested so far. Another possible solution is to have γέρας standing for γῆρας, the interchange of η for ε was a common practice, used in the sense of 'an old man'.¹⁷²

Koukouvou dates the inscription to the first half of the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Mac12. Epitaph (Pl. XV, fig. 4)

Edition: Koukouvou 1999, 22–3 no.3 (from the stone).

Illustration: Koukouvou, pl.4 (photo).

Found at Beroia. Now: Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv.no. Λ 874.

Details: Fragment of upper part of a marble stele with triangular *aetoma*, 26.5 x 12 cm. Letters: 3.4–3.8 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: Second half of the 4th century CE(?).

Text (follows Koukouvou 1999 and photo):

(*ethrog*) (*menorah*) (*lulab*)

[- -ο]υ μη[μόριον?]

[- -]†Θ[-----]

¹⁶⁸ For Γέρρα cf. Pape & Benseler i 1884, 247.

¹⁶⁹ Gignac ii 1976, 9–11.

¹⁷⁰ Gignac i 1976, 156.

¹⁷¹ Bechtel 1917, 108.

¹⁷² Gignac i 1976, 242–5.

..... 's monument

This fragment was found the same day as *Mac10-11*, about 70 m. from the findspot of the first two. It was lying in front of the excavated walls of house No.3 at the site located on Aspasia Street in modern Beroia. A *menorah* with a tripod base is inscribed in the centre of the *aetoma* and is flanked by an *ethrog* on the left and a *lulab* on the right. Koukouvou suggests that the letters [-o]v in l.1 are the genitive ending of the name of the deceased person.

Koukouvou dates the inscription to the second half of the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Mac13. Epitaph of Justinus (Pl. XV, fig. 5)

Edition: Koukouvou 1999, 23–4 no.4 (from the stone).

Illustrations: Koukouvou, pl.5 (photo).

Found at Beroia. Now: Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv.no. A 941.

Details: Marble *kioniskos* (*columella*), 88 cm. x 19 cm. (at base)-12.5 cm. (at top).

Letters: 2.5–3.5 cm. Space between lines: 0.8–1 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: Second half of the 4th century CE(?).

Text follows (Koukouvou 1999 and photo):

(*menorah*)
Μημώριον
Ἰουστίνου
Γωγώνι.

3. ρ misplaced in Γωγώνι. The name should read as Γωργώνι

Monument of Justinus (son) of Gorgonius.

This inscription was found in February 1999 about 25 m. from the site of the excavations conducted in 1995 at the junction of Kidonochoriou and Aspasia Streets in Beroia (*Mac10*). The name Justinus is rarely attested in Jewish inscriptions and papyri. It occurs in an inscription from Dabiah, Golan.¹⁷³ However, the form Justus (*Iustus*, Ἰουστός) was a very popular name among

¹⁷³ SEG xxxiv 1474.

Jews. It occurs at Ostia, Venosa, Taranto, Narbonne,¹⁷⁴ Rome,¹⁷⁵ Jaffa¹⁷⁶ and Beth Shearim.¹⁷⁷ It could be understood as a Latin translation name of the Hebrew Zadok (צדוק).¹⁷⁸ Gorgonius (Γοργόνιος) is attested at Aphrodisias for a Jew and a *theosebēs*,¹⁷⁹ and the feminine forms Gorgoneis and Gorgonia occur on inscriptions from the Villa Torlonia catacomb, Rome.¹⁸⁰

Koukouvou dates the inscription to the second half of the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Philippi

Philippi was established as a Thasian colony under the name Crenides in 360 BCE on the site of an earlier village known as Datum. In 356 BCE the city was conquered by the Macedonian king Philip II and renamed Philippi. The favourable location of the city near the gold and silver mines at Mt Pangaeus and Mt Orbelos resulted in its rapid prosperity during the reigns Philip II and Alexander the Great and, possibly, through the Hellenistic period. After the creation of the province of Macedonia in 148 BCE and the construction of Via Egnatia, which run through the city, Philippi became an important military and trade centre. In 42 BCE the battle between Antony and Octavian and Brutus and Cassius was fought near the city. After the victory of Antony and Octavian many veteran colonists were settled in Philippi, which later acquired the status of a Roman colony (*Colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis*).¹⁸¹ Between the 4th and 6th centuries the city was an important economic and cultural

¹⁷⁴ JIWE i 18, 69, 120, 189.

¹⁷⁵ JIWE ii 25, 71, 126, 260, 271, 344, 369, 379, 480, 515, 531, 561.

¹⁷⁶ JIGRE 148.

¹⁷⁷ BS ii 127, 190.

¹⁷⁸ Mussies 1994, 245.

¹⁷⁹ Reynolds & Tanenbaum 1987, b31, 46.

¹⁸⁰ 3rd–4th century CE: JIWE ii 454.

centre and during these centuries the principal churches of Philippi were built (Basilica A, B, C). The so-called Octagon built by bishop Porphyry (mid-4th century CE) was the cathedral of the city, and part of a complex including a bishop's palace, which became the centre of the civic life and the cult of apostle Paul in Philippi until the 7th century CE.

The NT account of Paul's visit to the city describes how he and Silas reached the Philippi from Neapolis, the sea port of Philippi, following the Via Egnatia (Acts 16.12-39). On arrival they went to a place outside the city wall near the river¹⁸², which is generally taken to be a Jewish open-air place of prayer (Acts 16.13-4). This place was frequented by women and one of them was Lydia of Thyathera, who was a 'worshipper of God' ('σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν'; Acts 16.14). This category of Jewish sympathizers were non-Jews who attended the synagogue, but were not members of the Jewish community.¹⁸³ During his stay in Philippi Paul also exorcised a slave girl, who shouted that he and his disciples were slaves of the Most High God (Acts 16.16-18). Mitchell notes that the place where the exorcism took place may actually have been a sanctuary of Theos Hypsistos.¹⁸⁴

Mac14. Epitaph of Nicostratus (Pl. XVI, fig. 1)

Editions: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 28-35; Pilhofer ii 2000, 339-40, no.387a/G813; AE 1998, no. 1229; SEG xlviii 1998, 837.

Illustrations: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, pl. XI (photo).

Other bibliography: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 444; BE 1993, no.370b; Pilhofer i 1995, 231-3.

Found at Philippi. Now: Philippi, Archaeological Museum, inv.no. Α 1529.

Details: Marble stele with a curved top, 90 x 70 (top)-58 (base) x 10-15 cm. Letters: 3-5.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: End of 3rd-beginning of 4th century CE(?).

Text (follows Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998 and photo):

¹⁸¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 3-27.

¹⁸² For the identification of the river mentioned in this passage cf. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 21-2.

¹⁸³ Mitchell 1999, 116-21.

¹⁸⁴ Mitchell 1999, 110, 115-6.

Φ(λάβιο)ς? Νικόστρατο(ς)
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὀξυχόλιος
 ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύ-
 {β}ασα τὸ χαμωσό-
 ρον τοῦτω · ὅς ἂν δέ
 5
 ἑτέρων νέκυν κατάθε-
 σε δώσει προστείμου τῇ συ-
 ναγωγῇ (δηνάρια) μ(υριάδας) ρ'

Ligatures: 5 AN, ΔΕ; 6 TE, ΡωN, NE, ΘΕ; 7 Δω , ΠΡΟΣ, TE, ΤΗΣ; 8. ωΓ

1. The letters of the name of the deceased are bigger than the rest of the epitaph; the A in Νικόστρατο(ς) is wider than the other letters, which apparently prompted the stone cutter to put the following T below the line of the letters in l.1 and half in the interlinear space; the O is in the interlinear space and clearly visible on the stone though cut not as deep as the other letters, it has the same shape as the final O in l. 4.

1. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki suggested that Φ was a *hedera*.

1. Pilhofer: Νικόστρα(τος)

1. SEG: Φ(λάβιος) Νικόστρα(τος)

3-5. 1. ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασα τὸ χαμωσόρον τοῦτω

6. 1. ἑτέρον

6-7. 1. κατάθεσει

7. 1. δώσει

8. * for (δηνάρια)

8. Pilhofer, AE: (ἑκατὸν μυριάδες)

8. SEG: (δηνάρια) μ(ύ)ρ(ια)

Flavius(?) Nicostratus Aurelius Oxycholius made this grave for himself. If someone puts the dead body of another person (in it), he shall pay the synagogue a fine of 1,000,000 denarii.

The inscription was discovered in 1987 in the western cemetery of ancient Philippi.

The deceased man was apparently a Roman citizen as his *nomen* Aurelius indicates.

Flavius, if that is the correct expansion of the first word, was used as a *praenomen*.

He also had a Greek *cognomen* Nicostratus (Νικόστρατος) and a *signum* Oxycholius

(Ὀξυχόλιος). It is interesting that the *cognomen* Nicostratus comes before the *nomen*

of the deceased man. There is another example of names written in an unusual order

in the synagogue inscription from Stobi ([Κλ.] Τιβέριος Πολύχαρμος; *MacI*).

It seems that in this inscription we have an example of the practice of adopting an additional name in order to underline the virtues of the bearer.¹⁸⁵ Thus, Nicostratus's

¹⁸⁵ Fick & Bechtel 1894, 320–6; Lambertz 1913, 81–6; Mussies 1994, 274–6.

signum Ὀξυχόλιος should be translated as 'the high spirited, vivacious'.¹⁸⁶ A similar practice is found in the Balkans and elsewhere in the Jewish Diaspora; cf. *Mac17* (dated to the 3rd century CE, from Thessaloniki): Marcus Aurelius Jacob called Εὐτόχιος (the lucky; *Mac17*). Ὀξυχόλιος occurs twice in the Aphrodisias inscription as a personal name and three times as a patronymic, borne both by Jews and God-fearers.¹⁸⁷ A fifth century Christian funerary inscription from Odessos (Varna), Moesia Inferior, mentions another Ὀξυχόλιος, a shipowner or skipper (ναύκληρος) from the island of Pele in the Smyrnian Gulf.¹⁸⁸

Jews or persons of Jewish extraction bearing the *nomen* Aurelius are found in inscriptions from Thessaloniki (*Mac17*); Argos (*Ach51*), Corone in Messenia (*Ach53*).

Pilhofer notes that l. 1 was written by a different hand and suggests that it was inscribed by an apprentice stone-cutter while the rest of the inscription was done by his master. Chaniotis (SEG), however, suggests that the stone has been re-used and l. 1 was added later. He assumes that the epitaph that commemorated the Jew Aurelius Oxycholius was re-used by Fl. Nicostratus, but does not provide an explanation for his assumption.

The term χαμόσωπον in ll.4–5 used to designate the grave is a common one in early Christian epitaphs (although it occurs on some pagan inscriptions as well).¹⁸⁹ It, however, is rarely attested in Macedonia and occurs only on two Christian epitaphs from Philippi.¹⁹⁰ A peculiar feature of the epitaph is that Nicostratus made it for himself. It is very unusual to find a Jew making his own epitaph; the

¹⁸⁶ Koukouli-Chrysantaki 1998, 30; Mussies 1994, 274–5.

¹⁸⁷ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, b11, b17, b31–2, b46.

¹⁸⁸ SGLIBulg 96.

¹⁸⁹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 31 n.147.

¹⁹⁰ RCM 231–232.

only other attestations of this practice are from Argos (*Ach51*) and Oescus (*Moes1*).

The final formula with a set fine for violation of the grave is found in other Jewish epitaphs. In the Balkans it is almost exclusively used on inscriptions from Macedonia (Thessaloniki, *Mac17*; Beroea, *Mac9*) with only one exception – an epitaph from Phtiotic Thebes (*Ach23*). The body receiving the fine is the local Jewish community of Philippi, as indicated by the expression δώσει προστίμου τῇ συναγωγῇ. Other terms attested epigraphically to indicate the Jewish community in this type of expression are: κατοικία, ἔθνος, τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων and ἁγιοτάτῃ συναγωγῇ.¹⁹¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki notes that the formula δώσει προστίμου is typical for introducing the body receiving the fine for violation of a grave, which can also be the Imperial treasury or a professional organisation, as in inscriptions from Western Macedonia such as IG x.2.1.561 from Thessaloniki.¹⁹² It also occurs in a Jewish epitaph from Nicomedia in Bithynia.¹⁹³ The sum of the fine, 1,000,000 denarii, is very high but is found in other inscriptions from the Balkans and elsewhere. An epitaph from Thessaloniki sets the same sum as a fine (IG x.2.1.591) and a fine of 3,000,000 denarii occurs in IGRR i 819 (Gallipoli).¹⁹⁴ It seems that in all cases an exuberant sum was deliberately set as a fine to prevent any possible violation of the tomb/grave. The very high fine and certain palaeographic features (as well as the orthographical substitution of -ι for -ει in δώσει)¹⁹⁵ of the inscription lead Koukouli-Chrysantaki to date it to the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century CE.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ CIJ i 775–6, etc; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 32; Pilhofer ii 2000, 340.

¹⁹² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 32.

¹⁹³ CIJ ii 799.

¹⁹⁴ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 33 n.157.

¹⁹⁵ Gignac i 1976, 189–90; van der Horst 1991, 26.

¹⁹⁶ Koukouli-Chrysantaki 1998, 34–5.

Thessaloniki (Salonica)

Thessaloniki was founded in 316 BCE by Cassander, the son of Antipater, who synoecized 26 small towns at the edge of the Thermaic gulf. He named the city in honour of his wife, Thessalonike, a half-sister of Alexander and the last surviving member of the royal family of Macedonia. It is possible that Thessaloniki was constructed on the site of an earlier settlement, Therme. After the defeat of Perseus in 168 BCE Thessaloniki became the capital of the second region of Macedonia and was made the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia in 146 BCE. The city enjoyed commercial and civic privileges including the right to mint its own coinage. Its proximity to the Via Egnatia and the major trade routes from the North further facilitated commercial prosperity.

Cicero spent six months of his exile in Thessaloniki (May-Nov. 58 BCE) and Pompey resided there during his flight from Rome in 49–48 BCE. He was joined by many Roman senators, which prompted the consecration of a site for the authoritative convening of the Senate. Following the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus, the city supported the forces of Brutus and Cassius, but later withdrew its support and joined the camp of Antony and Octavian. After the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE the victors, Antony and Octavian, received lavish honours from the city. Thessaloniki even inaugurated a local era in honour of Antony, which proved problematic after his defeat at Actium. The city continued to prosper in period between the 1st and 3rd century CE and received *neocorate* status during the reign of Gordian III (238–44) and was made a *colonia* in the reign of Decius (250 CE). Thessaloniki was made a winter residence of Galerius and in the period between 298/9–311 CE a triumphal arch and a palace were built. In 298/9 Galerius also opened an imperial mint in Thessaloniki, which replaced that of Serdica. During the war between Constantine

and Licinius the city accommodated the headquarters of Constantine, but after his victory, was made the place of Licinius' exile. In 390 CE Theodosius I massacred at the hippodrome thousands of Thessalonican citizens as a revenge for the murder of one of his barbarian generals.¹⁹⁷ During the Germanic invasions of the 4th and 5th centuries the city escaped destruction. In the mid-5th Thessaloniki was made the seat of the prefects of Illyricum and was an important bishopric (later archbishopric) under the jurisdiction of Rome. The archbishopric was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in c. 733. In the period between the 7th and 9th centuries Thessaloniki was administered by an eparch, and later *dux*.

The NT reference to Paul's stay in Thessaloniki (Acts 17.1-9) reveals that he visited the synagogue of the Jewish community (συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων; 17.1). Here he managed again to convert many women with high standing and 'God-fearing Greeks' (σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων). His missionary success was not received well by the Jewish community and he and Silas are forced to flee the city after a curious episode in which members of the Thessalonican Jewish community incite a disorder against them (Acts 17.5-9). The reliability of the whole episode is very dubious.

Mac15. Acclamation from tomb (Pl. XVI, figs 2-3)

Editions: Pelekanides 1961/2, 257; Molho 1962, 381; Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 377-8; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.693b; RICM 1983, no.292.

Illustrations: Pelekanides, pl.314b (photo); Molho, pl.2 (photo); Lifshitz and Schiby, pl.36 (photo); CIJ i², pl.2 (photo); RICM (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1964, no.251; BE 1969, no.370; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Kant 1987, 684, n.82; Kraemer 1991, 151; Levinskaya 1996a, 155; Ovadiah 1998, 190.

Found at Thessaloniki. Now: Tomb preserved in the courtyard of the Faculty of Law of the University of Thessaloniki.

Details: Tomb fresco. Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE(?).

Text (follows RICM 1983):

¹⁹⁷ Sozomen, *HE* 7, 25. 1-7 (*PG* 67, 1493-1497); Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 5. 17-8 (*PG* 82, 1232-1237). For events following the massacre in Thessaloniki and excommunication of the emperor cf. the letter of Ambrosius to Theodosius, Ambrosius, *Ep.* 51 (*PL* 16, 1209-1214); Rufinus, *HE* 2.18 (*PL* 21, 525B-C).

Κύριος
μεθ' ἡ-
μῶν.

2-3. BE 1964: ΚΕΘΗ [ἡμ?]ῶν

The Lord (is) with us!

This inscription was discovered during the excavation of the eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki conducted in 1961 under the direction of S. Pelekanides, then *ephor* of Antiquities in Macedonia. The necropolis is situated just outside the walls of the ancient city in what is now the courtyard of the Faculty of Law of the University of Thessaloniki. Pelekanides reports several subterranean vault tombs, some of them with a *dromos* entrance, built in clusters and dating from different epochs. The necropolis was partly used by Christians and there were tombs decorated with crosses and peacocks. In the south-east end of the necropolis two vault tombs with painted menorahs were found (Pl. XXXI, fig. 4). Pelekanides describes the tombs as 'sarcophagus shaped', which led Schiby & Lifshitz to describe them mistakenly as sarcophagi.¹⁹⁸ According to Molho the distance between the two tombs is only 5 m. and they lay approximately 60 m. and 65 m. distance from the rotunda-shaped tomb in the centre of this part of the necropolis.¹⁹⁹ They have an identical shape and were both built with bricks on mortar. There also were traces of marble doors at the entrances of both tombs. The first tomb (A) is 2 m. long and 1 m. wide (0.68 m. at the entrance); the second tomb (B) is 2.21 m. long and 1.86 m. wide (0.77 m. at the entrance). The *menorah* in tomb A is painted in red on the wall facing the entrance the tomb. The *menorah* has a crossbar and a square base. Menorahs with similar bases occur at Beth

¹⁹⁸ Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 378; CIJ i² 693b.

Shea'rim and in the Monteverde and Vigna Randanini Catacombs at Rome.²⁰⁰ The *menorah* in tomb B is painted in lilac(?) on the right wall of the vault and measures 41 x 35 cm. It has a tripod base, crossbar and schematically painted lighted fittings.

A wreath with the inscription given above is painted, also in lilac, to the right of the menorah in tomb B. The inscription is a paraphrase of the LXX text of Ps. 45.8, and 12. This acclamation has not been attested before on Jewish monuments but is frequently found in Christian inscriptions.²⁰¹

Pelekanides and Molho date the tombs and the inscription to the 4th century CE.

Mac16. Epitaph of Benjamin

Editions: Petsas 1966, 335; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.693c; RICM 1983, no.293.

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.367; Levinskaya 1996, 155.

Found at Thessaloniki. Now: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum(?).

Details: Inscription on marble door of a tomb. No measurements published.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE(?).

Text (follows RICM 1983):

Βενιαμῆς ὁ καὶ Δομέτιος.

1. ὁ καὶ Δομέτιος

Benjamin, also (called) Domitius.

The inscription was found in the eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki, situated in the courtyard of the Faculty of Law, during the excavations of 1961/2 in the same area where the two Jewish tombs were discovered in 1956 (*Mac15*). It is inscribed on the marble door of a tomb.

Mussies notes that some Hebrew names were interpreted, according to their endings, as cases of a hypothetical Greek paradigm, which gave rise of

¹⁹⁹ Molho 1962, 380.

²⁰⁰ Hachlili 2001, 138, fig.III-13a; cat. nos. D8.5, 15, 27, 61.

²⁰¹ CIJ i² 693b, n.108. Cf. Isa. 8.8–10 (LXX); Matt. 1.23.

different nominative forms. Thus, the nominative Βενιαμής/-ίς/-είς was formed from Βενιαμίν, which was seen as containing the Greek accusative ending -ν.²⁰² Βενιαμής occurs on an Jewish epitaph from Athens (*Ach*27) and Βενιαμής is attested in Jaffa (5th century CE).²⁰³ The form Βενιαμείς occurs in Josephus.²⁰⁴ Domitius is attested as a *nomen* borne by a father and a daughter in an epitaph from Villa Torlonia catacomb, Rome (3rd-4th century CE).²⁰⁵ In this inscription, however, it is possibly used as a by-name, which may indicate that the deceased man was a Roman citizen. It also is possible that Benjamin had an alternative Roman-sounding name, which is most likely to be a personal name adopted before his family became Roman citizens, or a relic of a proper name some time after 212 CE.

The inscription has not been dated, but in view of that it was found in the same area of the necropolis where the two Jewish tombs stood it is likely that it dates to the same period – 4th century CE.

Mac17. Epitaph of M. Aurelius Jacob and Anna (Pl. XVII, fig. 1)

Editions: Nigdelis 1994, 297–306; SEG xliv 1994, no.556.

Illustration: Nigdelis 1994, pl. VII.

Other bibliography: Levinskaya 1996, 155–6.

Found at Thessaloniki. Now: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv.no. 5674.

Details: Marble sarcophagus, 130 x 253 x 159 cm. Letters: 4–5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: Late 3rd century CE(?).

Text (follows SEG xliv 1994):

Μ(ᾱρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰακώβ ὁ καὶ Εὐτύχιος
ζῶν τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀννα
τῇ καὶ Ἀσυνκριτίῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ μνί-
ας χάριν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον καταθῇ
δώσει ταῖς συναγωγαῖς λα<μπ>ράς

5

²⁰² Mussies 1994, 251.

²⁰³ CIJ ii 908.

²⁰⁴ *AJ* 2.111.

²⁰⁵ *JWE* ii 377.

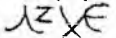
(δηνάρια) μ(υριάδας) ζ' χ(ιλιάδας) ε'.

Ligatures: 2 NTH

1. Nigdelis: Α(ὐρήλιος)

5. ΑΑΥΓΡΑC on the stone

6. * for (δηνάρια)

6.  on the stone;

6. Nigdelis: μ(υριάδας) ζ' (πεντακισχίλια) ε'

Marcus Aurelius Jacob also called Eutychius, while living, for his wife Anna, also (called) Asyncriton, and for himself, as a memorial. If somebody lays another (dead body in it) he shall pay to the synagogues 75,000 newly minted denarii.

This inscription was discovered in 1965 in the eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki. The necropolis was apparently used often by Thessalonian Jews as the two tombs with painted menorahs and inscriptions discovered in the area suggest (*Mac15*). Nigdelis notes that the type of the sarcophagus is characteristic of Thessaloniki for the period 120–256 CE. The sarcophagus was reused by M. Aurelius Jacob, and the present inscription is written in a *tabula ansata* on the top of an erased older one.

The author of the inscription was a Roman citizen as his full name suggests, and the name indicates that his citizenship is probably due to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212; in view of the dating suggested below, Jacob's own citizenship was presumably inherited. He had a Jewish *cognomen* and a Greek *signum* Εὐτόχιος which can be translated as the 'the lucky'. The name is part of a large group of by-names that reflect qualities generally admired in Antiquity like luck, nobility and success.²⁰⁶ Jews with a *signum* added to their names are also found in inscriptions from Philippopolis (*Thr1*), Philippi (*Mac14*) and Stobi (*Mac1*) in the Balkans. It is interesting that Eutychius' wife, to whom the inscription is dedicated and sarcophagus made for, Anna, also had a by-name:

²⁰⁶ Mussies 1994, 274–5.

Asyncrition. This falls in the same category of by-names as her husband's *signum* and perhaps can be translated as 'the incomparable one' (from ἀσύγκριτος; LSJ s.v.). The name is very rare – the masculine form Ἀσύγκριτος is found only in two non-Jewish inscriptions from Athens (2nd century CE).²⁰⁷ Asyncritus is one of the Roman Christians greeted by Paul in Rom. 16.14. The name Anna is fairly well represented in Jewish inscriptions. It occurs at Beth She'arim,²⁰⁸ Venosa,²⁰⁹ Rome,²¹⁰ and Corinth (*Ach*49). The form Ἀννίς occurs on a 1st century *ostrakon* from Edfu.²¹¹

On the formula against the violation of the grave, or in this case sarcophagus, in ll.4–5, see *Mac*14. Nigdelis, followed by Levinskaya, suggests that the plural form of the formula (ταῖς συναγωγαῖς) indicates there were several synagogues in Thessaloniki.²¹² Levinskaya notes that the area of the eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki, where the Jews were buried, was shared by all communities and there existed an overall supervising body like a burial society. This body could also receive the sums from the fines for tomb violation.²¹³ She also refers to a 'Jewish cemetery' in Thessaloniki. However, it cannot be proven that a distinctive Jewish cemetery existed in the city during the Roman and late Roman periods. It seems more plausible that Thessalonikan Jews shared the necropolis with pagans and Christians, which is confirmed by the archaeological data (*Mac*15). Similarly, the Jews in Doclea used the necropolis of the town and were buried next to pagans (cf. pp. 6-7).

²⁰⁷ SEG xix 292; IG ii² 2018.

²⁰⁸ BS ii, nos. 2-3, 7.

²⁰⁹ 5th century: JIWE i 72; mid 6th century: JIWE i 90.

²¹⁰ 3rd–4th century CE: JIWE ii 10.

²¹¹ CPJ 268, l.1.

²¹² Nigdelis 1994, 306.

²¹³ Levinskaya 1996, 156.

Nigdelis plausibly reconstructs the word ΛΑΥΤΡΑΚ in 1.5 as λαμπρός ('newly minted' or 'unworn' coins). The term is a synonym of ἄσπερος and occurs in inscriptions from Athens,²¹⁴ Epidaurus,²¹⁵ and Kadoi.²¹⁶ Nigdelis notes that the newly minted coins apparently had a higher value than the used ones, but the use of the term λαμπρός in this inscription was not related to a specific monetary reform.²¹⁷ Chaniotis suggests that the preference for newly minted coins points to the monetary reforms of the second half of the 3rd century.²¹⁸ However, it is not clear in what type of denarii the fine is set. The *denarius* was abandoned in favour of the *antoninianus* during the reign of Gordian III (238–244) although prices were still quoted in *denarii communes*.²¹⁹

Nigdelis dates the inscription to the end of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd century on palaeographic grounds but prefers a late 3rd century CE date because of the amount of the fine set.²²⁰ The form of the name means that the inscription must be later than 212 CE.

Mac18. Epitaph of Abraham and Theodote

Editions: Chatzi Ioannou 1880, 102, no. 3.1; Reinach 1885, 77–8, no.6 (squeeze); Demitsas 1896, 556 no.664; Oehler 1909, 302 no.95; M. Schwabe, *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 21 1916, 54; CIJ i 1936, no.693; Robert 1937, 82; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p.70; Robert 1946, 104; IG x.2.1 1972, no.633; RICM 1983, no.173.

Illustrations: Chatzi Ioannou 1880 (squeeze); Reinach 1885 (squeeze); RICM 1983 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: Molho 1962, 376; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Levinskaya 1996, 155; Ovadiah 1996, 42; Ovadiah 1998, 187.

Found in the area of Thessaloniki. Now: Lost.

No measurements published. Letter forms: Α Ε Ψ Η

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–6th century(?).

²¹⁴ 165 CE: IG ii² 1092, II.8, 15.

²¹⁵ c.250–300 CE: IG iv 946; iv² 91.

²¹⁶ After 212 CE: MAMA x 358.

²¹⁷ Nigdelis 1994, 301.

²¹⁸ SEG xlv 556; Harl 1996, 128–48.

²¹⁹ Mattingly 1960, 124–7; Harl 1996, 129–31.

²²⁰ Nigdelis 1994, 299.

Text (follows RICM 1983 and squeeze):

μημόριον Ἀβραμῆου
καὶ τῆς συνβίου αὐ-
τοῦ Θεωδότης.

Ligatures: 1 MH, OY in Ἀβραμῆου

Letters with serifs: 1 MINHY; 2 KITY; 3 TY

The *omicrons* in the inscription are smaller than the other letters.

1. Chatzi Ioannou, Demitsas, Robert, IG x 2.1: Ἀβραμίου; CIJ i²: Ἀβραμῆο(υ); Ovadiah, 1998: Ἀβραμῆο[υ]

3. IG x 2.1: Θεωδότης

Monument of Abraham [Abrameos] and his wife Theodote.

Chatzi Ioannou copied this inscription together with RICM 143 in 1879 or earlier among the ruins of the monastery of Ἀλατίνη situated 3.5 km. south-east of Thessaloniki. In 1880 Reinach reported the inscription in the Kalamaria farm just outside Thessaloniki. It was subsequently lost.

The inscription was considered Jewish because of the name Ἀβράμης. Feissel challenged the consensus, noting that there is no specific formula or symbol that suggests the deceased were of Jewish origin and that the name occurs frequently in Christian inscriptions from Syria and Palestine.²²¹ However, Ἀβράμιος occurs in Jewish papyri from the Fayum,²²² and the short form Ἀβράμις is attested on an ostrakon from Edfu (1st–2nd century CE).²²³ Ἀβραμος occurs in an inscription from Leontopolis²²⁴ and papyri and *ostraca* from Hermoupolis Magna, Thebes, Edfu and Sebennytos.²²⁵ Ἀβραάμ occurs in Rome (4th–5th century CE).²²⁶ Theodote (Θεωδότης) is a feminine form of the name Theodotus, which is well

²²¹ RICM, p.157; Meimaris 1986, nos.5, 314, 355, 808, 817, 852, 862, 1002, 1137, 1165.

²²² CPJ 428, col.II.2, 2nd century CE; CPJ 512.2, 6th–7th century CE.

²²³ CPJ 374.1.

²²⁴ JIGRE 39, mid-2nd century BCE–2nd century CE.

²²⁵ CPJ 50.3, 365.1, 412.6, 471 col.II.

²²⁶ JWE ii 562.

attested in Jewish inscriptions and papyri (*Ach20*). The inscription is therefore at least as likely to be Jewish as Christian.

Reinach, followed by Oehler, Frey and Levinskaya, dates the inscription to the late 2nd century CE, which would make its Jewishness fairly certain. Feissel dates it to the 5th–6th century on palaeographic grounds, which seems the more accurate date.

The inscription discovered with this one reads: ΕΒΣΑΛΙΤΟΥ----- | τῇ αὐτοῦ----- | IN Ἰωάννη<η>ς ἀναγ<ν>ώ<σ>της. Edson restored ΕΒΣΑΛΙΤΟΥ as <Εἰς>αλίτου in IG x.2.1 632 and considered the inscription Jewish. This reading was refuted by Feissel.²²⁷

Mac19. Samaritan dedicatory inscription (Pl. XVII, fig. 2)

Editions: Pelekides 1955, 408; Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 368–77; BE 1969, no.369; IG X.2.1 1972, no.789; Spieser 1973, 149–50, no.1; Tov 1974, 394–9; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.693a; Purvis 1976, 121–3; SEG xxvi 1976/7, no.779.

Illustrations: Pelekides 1955, pl.84 (photo); Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, pl.35 (photo); Spieser 1973, pl.I,1 (photo); RICM 1983, pl.64 (photo).

Other bibliography: Schiby 1977, 102–8; Horsley 1976, 108–10; Wasserstein 1982, 270; Bruneau 1982, 479–80; RICM 1983, no.291; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66–7; van der Horst 1990, 144; M. Mulzer, *BN* 62, 1992, 38–40; Levinskaya 1996, 156.

Found at Thessaloniki. Now: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.2286.

Details: Marble plaque broken into 11 pieces, 47 x 27 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 1–2 cm. Space between lines: 0.3–1.5 cm.

Language: Greek, Hebrew. Date: 4th–6th century CE(?).

Text (follows RICM 1983 and photo):

ברוך אלהינו לעולם
καὶ ἐλάλησεν Κ(ύριος) μετὰ
Μοῦσῃ λέγων ἡ λάλησον
τῷ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτ[οῦ]
λέγων ὁὕτως εὐλογή[σετε]
τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰ(σρα)ήλ ἑῖπατε αὐτοῖς
εὐλογήσῃ σε Κ(ύριος) καὶ φυλάξει
σε, ἐπιφανεῖ Κ(ύριος) τὸ πρόσωπον
αὐτοῦ πρὸς σε καὶ ἀγαπήσῃ σε,

5

²²⁷ RICM 143.

[ἐ]παρεῖ K(ύριο)ς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐ- 10
 τ<ο>ῦ πρὸς σε καὶ ποιήσει σοι εἰ<ρή>-
 νην· καὶ θήσεται τὸ ὄνομά
 μου ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰ(σρα)ήλ καὶ γὰρ
 εὐλογήσω αὐτούς.
 15
 ܐܠܗܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܝܢ
 εἰς Θεός· εὐλογία Σιρικίῳ τῷ
 ποιήσαντι ἅμα συνβίῳ
 κὲ τέκνοι<ς>. αὖξι Νεάπο-
 λης μετὰ τῶν φιλοῦντων.

2. I. Μωϋσῆ
 4. IG x.2.1: Ἀαρώνι
 5. CIJ i², Horsley: εὐλογήσ[ετε]
 10. IG x.2.1, CIJ i²: ἐπαρεῖ
 10–11. ΑΥΤΑΥ on the stone
 11. PH omitted on the stone
 18. ΤΕΚΝΟΙΕ on the stone
 19. I. αὖξι

(Hebrew): *Blessed be our God forever!*

(Greek): *And the Lord spoke with Moses saying: 'Speak to Aaron and his sons saying: so you shall bless the sons of Israel. Tell them: the Lord will bless you and protect you. The Lord will reveal his face to you and favour you. The Lord will lift up his face to you and make peace for you. And my name will be placed upon the sons of Israel and I will bless them.'*

(Hebrew): *Blessed be His name forever!*

(Greek): *God (is) one. Blessing to Siricius who has made (this plaque/the donation?) and his wife and children. Prosper, Neapolis, with those who love you!*

This inscription was discovered near the church of the Holy Mother at Chalkeon (Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων). Stratis Pelekidis, who found it, suggests that perhaps there was a Jewish or Samaritan quarter in the vicinity of the church. Thus, Schiby thinks that the tower *Samarias* of Thessaloniki (πύργος Σαμαρίας) took its name either after a Samaritan synagogue that stood near or because this was the place where the Samaritan traders unloaded their wares.²²⁸ However, Tsaras notes that this tower was actually named after the Catholic church of St Mary built during the Frankish rule of Thessaloniki (1204–1224). He explains the origin of the name

²²⁸ Schiby 1977, 106–8.

with a phonetic phenomenon: Santa Maria was pronounced as Sa-Maria, which later developed into *Samarias* i.e., πύργος Σαμαρίας.²²⁹ The tower, however, was not too far from the earliest medieval Jewish quarter of Thessaloniki located near the old sea walls and close to the harbour of the city. According to Moutsopoulos the quarter, known from the 7th century onwards as the 'Vrochthoi quarter', was located near the site of the old *Etz ha-Hayim* synagogue destroyed during the great fire of 1917.²³⁰ Pelekidis suggests the inscription was built in the wall of a Samaritan synagogue, but this again can not be proven.

The text of the inscription consists of three parts: (a) A blessing in Samaritan Hebrew (ll.1 and 15); (b) The text of Num. 6.22–27 (the benediction of the priests) in Greek (ll.2–14); (c) A dedication in Greek of a certain Siricius (ll.16–19).

Purvis notes that the letters of the Samaritan script in ll.1 and 15 were not uniform and that they had, possibly, developed under the influence of a manuscript tradition. He suggests that the Samaritan community in Thessaloniki was not active in writing, with the Samaritan script, and speaking in Hebrew but in Greek.²³¹ The only other occurrence, though problematic and in Greek letters, of a *berakhah* in an inscription outside Palestine is in a Jewish epitaph from Alexandria.²³²

Lifshitz & Schiby note that the Greek text of Num. 6.22–27 in ll.2–14 has been inscribed very carefully with almost no orthographical inaccuracies, exception

²²⁹ Tsaras 1982, 64–7.

²³⁰ Moutsopoulos 1995/6, 6–21.

²³¹ Purvis 1976, 122–3.

²³² JIGRE 15.

Μοῦσῇ for Μωϋσῇ in 1.3. They also note thirteen deviations from the text of the LXX:²³³

	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>LXX</i>
11.1–2	μετὰ Μοῦσῇ	πρὸς Μωϋσῇ
1.4	τῷ Ἀαρὼν	Ἀαρὼν
1.6	εἶπατε	λέγοντες
1.7	εὐλογήσει φυλάξει	εὐλογῆσαι φυλάξαι
1.8	ἐπιφανεῖ	ἐπιφανάι
1.9	πρὸς σε ἀγαπήσει	ἐπὶ σε ἐλεῆσαι σε
1.10	ἐπαρεῖ	ἐπάραι
1.11	πρὸς σε ποιήσει	ἐπὶ σε δώη
1.12	θήσεται	ἐπιθήσουσιν
1.13	κἀγὼ	καὶ ἐγὼ Κύριος

Lifshitz observes that, while the inscription translates the Hebrew *textus receptus* almost literally, the LXX inserts v.27 between vv.23 and 24.²³⁴ The inscription uses future indicatives where the LXX has aorist optatives.²³⁵ Lifshitz notes that ἀγαπήσει in 1.9 is a more accurate translation of the Hebrew word יָנִיחַ than the LXX rendering ἐλεῆσαι σε.²³⁶ The inscription also omits Κύριος after κἀγὼ in 1.13, following the masoretic text and the Samaritan Pentateuch.²³⁷ All this lead Lifshitz & Schiby, followed by van der Horst, to suggest that the text of the inscription provides evidence for the lost Greek translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch.²³⁸ However, Tov challenges this view, suggesting that the inscription was part of a LXX revision, which rendered the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch more accurately.²³⁹ He also argues that the usage of Κύριος as rendering of the tetragrammaton YHWH in the inscription is not related to a Samaritan source,

²³³ Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 370.

²³⁴ Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 370.

²³⁵ Horsley 1976, 109.

²³⁶ Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 373–4; Robert 1969.

²³⁷ CIJ i² 693a.

²³⁸ van der Horst 1990, 144.

because the Samaritans did not pronounce *Adonai* (as a substitute for the tetragrammaton) but *Shema* or 'Ιαβε. In the inscription Κύριος occurs, abbreviated as ΚΣ, four times (ll.2, 7–8, 10) and according to Tov its usage is based on the LXX vocabulary.²⁴⁰ Horsley suggests that the occurrence of Κύριος in the inscription may also be attributed to Christian influence, especially if Purvis' 4th–6th century date is accepted.²⁴¹

The formula in l.16, εἰς θεός, occurs quite often in Samaritan inscriptions from Palestine, but was not a distinctively Samaritan expression (it is used also in Christian and Gnostic contexts).²⁴² The formula is attested only once on a Jewish inscription from Aquincum;²⁴³ εἰς θεός ὁ βοηθῶν is found in probably Jewish inscriptions from Syria.²⁴⁴ The term εὐλογία is well attested in Jewish inscriptions in Palestine and the Diaspora (*Ach*59; *Thr*1-2; *Thr*4).

Lifshitz & Schiby accepted Pelekanidis' view that the dedicator Siricius is to be identified with the sophist Sergius Siricius from Neapolis in Palestine (Nablus), a pupil of Andromachus, who taught in Athens in the 4th century CE.²⁴⁵ However, it is not all clear whether he and the one mentioned in the inscription from Thessaloniki are the same person. Lifshitz also notes that it is not known if Siricius was Samaritan or Greek.²⁴⁶ The form of the name Sirica is attested on Jewish inscriptions from Rome.²⁴⁷

²³⁹ Tov 1974, 396–8.

²⁴⁰ Tov 1971, 375.

²⁴¹ Horsley 1976, 110.

²⁴² de Segni 1994, 111–5.

²⁴³ Scheiber 1983, 19–25, no. 2.

²⁴⁴ CIJ ii 848, 864.

²⁴⁵ PLRE i, p.845 Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 376.

²⁴⁶ Lifshitz & Schiby 1968, 376; CIJ i² 693a.

²⁴⁷ JIWE ii 278, 357.

This is the only occurrence of the salutation αὔξη applied to a city in Thessaloniki although it is attested epigraphically elsewhere.²⁴⁸

Pelekidis tentatively dates the inscription to the 4th century following his own identification of the dedicant with the sophist Siricius. However, Purvis, on basis of the Samaritan script, suggests a date between the 4th and 6th centuries. The use of a long ι- instead of ει- in the formula also suggests a date for the inscription close to the one suggested by Purvis.

Mac20. Dedicatory inscription

Editions: Heuzey & Daumet 1876, 282, no.119; Demitsas 1896, 446–7, no.392; IG x.2.1 1972, no.431; RICM 1983, no.113.

Other bibliography: Kanatsoulis 1979, 23 no.165.

Found in the area of Thessaloniki. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Marble plaque; dimensions not recorded.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd–3rd century CE.

Text (follows RICM 1983):

Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἀπολλωνίου (lulab?)
<π>ρεσβύτερος.

3. ΤΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ on the stone

Apollonius (son) of Apollonius, presbyter.

The inscription was discovered in a private house. Heuzey notes that the plaque was similar to those put above the *loculi* in the catacombs. It is possible that it originated from the eastern necropolis of Thessaloniki where many subterranean tombs were uncovered, including a number of Christian and two Jewish tombs (*Mac15-16*). Heuzey, Demitsas, Edson (in IG) and Kanatsoulis consider the title presbyter Christian and so the inscription. However, as Feissel has noted it could also be Jewish. On the use of the title presbyter by Jews see *Thr3*. The name

²⁴⁸ Peterson 1926, 319; Robert 1960, 23, 25; BE 1966, 319.

Apollonius (Ἀπολλώνιος) occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica²⁴⁹ and Apollinarius is attested in Rome (3rd–4th century CE).²⁵⁰ Apollonides (Ἀπολλωνίδης) is used as a patronymic in the inscription from the synagogue at Nyssa.²⁵¹

The dating is crucial to whether the inscription is Jewish or Christian. Edson dates it to the 2nd century CE on the basis of the occurrence of a non-lunar *sigma* (Σ) and the archaic form of the *omega* (Ω). Feissel notes that a 3rd century date is also possible. In either case, it is much more likely to be Jewish. If so, the object identified as a 'palm branch' must be a *lulab*.

²⁴⁹ CJZC 66a, 71.

²⁵⁰ JWE ii 415.

²⁵¹ Lifshitz 1969, no.31.

Chapter 6

Section 1

ACHAEA: Thessaly

The Roman province of Achaea was created in 27 BCE. It was ruled by a senate and a proconsul of praetorian rank, with a provincial assembly and capital Corinth. Between 15 and 44 CE it was combined with Macedonia into one imperial province under the governor of Moesia. In 67 CE Nero proclaimed the 'freedom of Greece' and the Achaea was administrated by its population. This situation was revised in 70/74 CE by Vespasian who again restored the senatorial control over Achaea. The emperor Hadrian created in 131/2 a Panhellenic league, a Roman loyalist organisation of eastern cities, which lasted until 250 CE. The existence of Jewish communities in the province is mentioned by Philo.¹

The remains of a late antique synagogue were discovered in Saranda (ancient Onchesmos), on the Adriatic coast of Albania, in the early 1980s, but not published due to government restrictions (Pl. II). The site of the synagogue was re-examined in 2003 by a joint team of the Institute of Archaeology of the Albanian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. According to the preliminary reports the building had a basilical plan and was paved with two mosaic floors. Both mosaic floors are located in the atrium of the basilica. The first one bears the images of a *menorah*, partly destroyed, flanked by *shofar* from the left and an *ethrog* from the right side. The *menorah* has a tripod base

¹ *Legat.* 281.

and pottery or bronze lamps with their nozzle ends pointing left. The second mosaic floor is filled with a number of images, including a variety of animals, trees, and the façade of a structure resembling a Torah shrine. The building of the synagogue has been dated to the 5th-6th century CE. It was supplanted by a Christian church at the end of this period.²

Larissa

Larissa is located on the left bank of the river Peneus and at about 32 km. from the sea.³ The ancient city was an important trade and political centre because of its position on the main route connecting Athens with Macedonia. Larissa was conquered by the Romans after the second battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 BCE and became the capital of the newly founded Thessalian Confederation until the reign of Diocletian. The first bishop, and patron saint, of the city Achilleius attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 CE. During the Byzantine period Larissa became the ecclesiastical and administrative centre of Thessaly. In the 5th century CE the city suffered destruction from an attack by the Ostrogoths, but was rebuilt during the reign of Justinian I. In the period between 8th and 9th century Larissa was the metropolis of theme of Hellas. The only major public structures that have been excavated in Larissa are the two ancient theatres. The first theatre (Theatre A), located at the south slope of the acropolis, was built at the end of the 3rd century BCE. During the Roman period it was turned into arena for gladiatorial fights and continued in be in use until the end of the 2nd century CE or slightly later, when it was abandoned and became a quarry for building material. The second theatre, located south-west of the acropolis, was built in the

² Nallbani, E. 'Une nouvelle synagogue de l'antiquité (tardive ?), identifiée à Saranda (Albanie)', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 9 2003 [forthcoming].

³ On the history of Larissa cf. Stählin 1924, 94-8.

second half of the 1st century BCE. The marble blocks (seats) of this theatre were reused in the walls of two late-19th century houses. A marble block (seat) from theatre A was recovered from the Jewish cemetery of modern Larissa (cf. *App3*). The cemetery is located just outside the city, to the south.⁴ The literary evidence for the presence of Jews in the city in 1333, concerning Rabbi Isaac Hilo of Larissa, is now regarded as a 19th-century forgery by E. Carmoly.⁵

Ach1. Epitaphs of Demo and Maria

Editions: SIG ii² 1900, no.897; IG ix.2 1908, no.988a-c; Oehler 1909, 443 no.102 (b-c); Giannopoulos 1912, 156(c); SIG iii³ 1920, no.1247,1-2 (b-c); CIJ i 1936, nos.699-701 (a-c); Ferrua 1941, 45; Schwabe 1945/6, 65-6, nos.1-2 (b-c), 9 (a); Peek 1955, 359 no.1217(c); Pfohl 1966, 30-1 no.27(c); CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.701(c).

Other bibliography: Robert 1959, 29 n.5; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Kant 1987, 678, n.35; van der Horst 1991, 147-8 no.5; van der Horst 1994, 143; Williams 1998, no.II.101 (c) (English tr.).

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele with *aetoma*. No measurements published.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | [- -]E[- -]NO[- -]
ΘΟΣ[.]ΑΡΟ
[τϙ] λ[αϙ]
χαίρειν. | |
| (b) | Δημῶ Τιτια-
νοῦ τϙ λαϙ
χαίρειν. | |
| (c) | Μαρία Ἰούδα
Λεοντίσκου
δὲ γυνὴ τϙ
λαϙ χαί-
ρειν. | 5 |
- [χαί]ροις ἀνθρώπων πεπ[νυ-]
[μέν]ε ὅστις ὑπάρχει.

Ligatures: c2 NT, c3 NH

a4. A small letter E is inscribed under X in χαίρειν

b1. Letters ΣΟ appear above H in Δημῶ

b2-3. The word *παρὰμωεις* appears between the lines, probably remaining from an earlier inscription or later addition suggesting that the stele had been re-used.

⁴ On the location of the cemetery cf. Stählin 1924, 94-7.

⁵ Encyclopaedia Judaica s.v.

- (a) *Farewell to the people.*
 (b) *Demo (daughter) of Titianus. Farewell to the people.*
 (c) *Maria (daughter) of Judas (and) wife of Leontiscus. Farewell to the people.*
May you rejoice, wise men, whoever you are.

The stele was discovered in the Jewish cemetery of Larissa. It contains three different inscriptions and is evidence for the apparently popular practice among the Jews in Larissa of reusing funerary monuments set up by relatives or other members of the community (cf. *Ach3-4*). The text of inscription (a) is too fragmentary to be reconstructed plausibly, with the exception of the final farewell formula. The name of the deceased woman in inscription (b) Δημό and her father Τιτιανός (the Roman name *Titianus*) are otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri. Frey translated the first two lines of inscription (c): 'Maria Iuda, femme de Leontiskos'.⁶ Both Ferrua and Schwabe objected to this reading and noted that the name in the genitive that follows the name of Maria is not her *cognomen*, but the name of her father. Her husband is indicated by the phrase δὲ γυνή. The names Maria and Juda(s) were very popular among Jews and occur in inscriptions from Egypt,⁷ Cyrenaica,⁸ Rome,⁹ Civitavecchia,¹⁰ Ostia,¹¹ Capua,¹² Venosa,¹³ Sofiana,¹⁴ Capoterra,¹⁵ Sant' Antioco,¹⁶ Larissa (*Ach7*) and Almyros (*Ach24*). Leontiscus is a form of Leontius, which was a popular choice of name among Jews and was regarded later as an equivalent of Judah. The Greek form of

⁶ CIJ i 701.

⁷ JIGRE 54, 120, 131.

⁸ CJZC 1, 52f, 57a; app.3, 50d.

⁹ JIWE ii 41, 56, 80, 109, 124, 152, 186, 222, 231, 262, 298, 353, 444, 481, 554, 556.

¹⁰ JIWE i 11.

¹¹ JIWE i 15.

¹² JIWE i 20.

¹³ JIWE i 90.

¹⁴ JIWE i 158-9.

¹⁵ JIWE i 169.

¹⁶ JIWE i 173.

the name Λεόντιος occurs at Rome (3rd–4th century),¹⁷ Chrysopolis,¹⁸ Beroëa (*Mac*9), Athens (*Ach*34). The Latin form *Leontius* is found at Rome (3rd–4th century).¹⁹ לֵאֹן (Leon) occurs in two Hebrew epitaphs from Taranto (7th–8th century CE).²⁰ The feminine form Λεοντία (regarded as a Greek equivalent of Judith) occurs at Rome,²¹ Venosa,²² Catania²³ and Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos; *Ach*20).

The text in (c) ll.6–7 is an elegiac distich. Jewish metric inscriptions are extremely rare in the Balkans. The only two other examples include epigrams from Larissa (*Ach*2) and Beroëa (*Mac*11). Van der Horst notes that this partly verse inscription has a particular Homeric flavour ‘created by πεπνυμένε, a well-known tag often found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*’.²⁴

Inscription (c) is clearly Jewish because of the names, but Robert suggests that the expression τῷ λαῷ found in all three inscriptions on the stele, was used by Larissan Jews to address their own community.²⁵ In a similar way, Schwabe compares τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν to the salutation שלום על ישראל (‘Peace upon Israel’).²⁶ Indeed, the formula τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν occurs on another eleven epitaphs from Larissa and one from Pherai in Thessaly (*Ach*2-4, *Ach*8-14, *Ach*16, *Ach*25). There are no other occurrences of the formula in Thessaly or anywhere in the Balkans, and it is not found in clearly Jewish context. Jewish communities are described with the term ὁ λαός also in inscriptions from Mantinea (*Ach*57),

¹⁷ JIWE ii 228, 438.

¹⁸ CIJ ii 801.

¹⁹ JIWE ii 104.

²⁰ JIWE i 125–6.

²¹ JIWE ii 28.

²² JIWE i 104.

²³ JIWE i 146.

²⁴ van der Horst 1994, 129 n.4.

²⁵ Robert 1946, 103–4; Robert 1960a, 260–2; BE 1976, no.333.

Hierapolis in Phrygia,²⁷ Nyssa in Caria, Hulda and Caesarea in Palestine.²⁸ The epithet φιλόλαος occurs in Jewish epitaphs from Rome.²⁹ λαός is used in the LXX with its nominal meaning of 'people'³⁰ or to designate specifically the 'people of Israel'.³¹ The term is employed in the NT with the meaning of Jews³² or, in some cases, of Christians as opposed to pagans.³³ It is likely that the use of the salutation formula τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν by the Jews in Larissa was related, if not influenced, by the use of the term ὁ λαός in the LXX. There are no parallels for χαίρειν as a farewell expression in the LXX and it seems that the conventional meaning of χαίρω as 'farewell' (LSJ s.v.) is applied.

The only 'farewell to the people' inscriptions for which a date has been proposed are *Ach2* (3rd-4th century CE) and *Ach14* (possibly 4th century), on palaeographic grounds. The names in the inscriptions provide little clue, since they are all single names, sometimes with a single name patronymic. Four, Quintus (*Ach7*, *Ach10*), Secundus (*Ach13*), Titianus (*Ach1b*) and Maximus (*Ach16*), show clear Roman influence. None (with the possible exception of *Ach16* where Robert restored the formula) uses Jewish symbols. The most likely period for the Roman names and the lack of symbols would be between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE; the *Constitutio Antoniana* of 212 seems to have had almost no impact on the forms of the names recorded in epitaphs from Thessaly. The 4th century may also be

²⁶ Schwabe 1945/6, 66–8.

²⁷ CIJ ii 776.

²⁸ Lifshitz 1969, nos.30; 64, 80.

²⁹ JWE ii 240, 576.

³⁰ Ex. 1.22; 2Chron. 1.9, etc.

³¹ Gen. 14.16; Ex. 1.20; 1Sam. 10.1, 11; 2Kgs. 11.17–8; 1Chron. 29.18; Ps. 13 (14).7; Is. 40.1; Ezek. 33.2; 1Macc. 5.16; 2Macc. 2.17, etc.

³² Matt. 1.21, 2.6; Lk. 10.12; Acts 13.17; 26.17, etc.

³³ Acts 15.14.

possible, but would imply that the formula was used instead of symbols as a statement of Jewishness.³⁴

Ach2. Epitaph of Leukios (Pl. XVIII, fig. 1)

Editions: Zekides 1905, 199 no.15; IG ix.2 1908, p.xv (corrigenda ultima) and no.652; Peek 1974, 15–16 no.12; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.708b; Helly 1978, 125; SEG xxviii 1978, no.524.

Illustration: Peek 1974, fig. 6 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 103; BE 1976, no.333.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Grey marble plaque; there is a hole in the middle of the plaque; 37 x 36.8 x 8.7–9 cm; 38 x 36 x 9 cm (Zekides 1905; IG ix.2), broken above and below, large hole in the middle.

Letters: 2.3–3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st–4th century CE(?)

Text (follows SEG xxviii 1978 and personal inspection):

[- -]ολις [.....]ς [φυ]λαξι[- -]
 ὅσσοι δὲ μνηστῆρες ἐπὶ νόμφας ἐλάεσθε,
 εὐθὺ γάμων ἀβ[ολεῖ]τε. ὁ γὰρ χρόνος οὐδὲν ὄν[η]σε.
 Ἴππονικὸς Λε[υκίῳ] τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίηι.
 Λεύκιος τῷ [λ]αῶ χαίρειν.

5

Ligatures: 2 NHΣ; 3 Mω, NOΣ; 5 ΟΣ

1. Peek: [Ἰ]αίδης σὺν Μοίραισιν] | [ταῖς ὀλ]οαῖσι μ' [ἀ]πῆγε γαμή[λι]α πλησία λάξα[ς]
2. Small Y between N and M in νόμφας, probably originally omitted
3. ΣΕ above ON in ὄν[η]σε
4. Small A between P and M in ἐπίγραμμα, probably originally omitted
4. CIG, CIJ: Ἰππονικὸς δ[ὲ] ἐπ[ὶ] γ[ραμ]μ[α] ἐποίηι.
4. Peek: Ἰππονίκη Γλόκη
5. CIG, Peek: τῷ [τέκν]ῳ χαίρειν

.... guard(?) you, all suitors who are driving on to brides, take part in wedding at once. For time (i.e. delay) will be of no use at all. Hipponikis composed this epigram for Leukios. Leukios, farewell to the people.

This inscription was brought to the gymnasium of Larissa from an undisclosed location in the environs of the town. Zekides recorded the inscription in 1904 and seventy years later Peek found it lying in the court of the Larissa museum. The stone is currently in the depot of the Larissa museum at the footsteps of the Agios

³⁴ The assistance of Dr David Noy, University of Wales, Lampeter, for dating the inscriptions from Thessaly is acknowledged with gratitude.

Ahillos hill on Venizelos str, just behind the recently discovered Roman theatre. The first editors of this inscription, Zekides and Kern in IG, did not explain it. Kern, followed later by Peek, reconstructed the salutation formula in l.5 as τῷ [τέκν]ῷ χαίρειν. However, in his *corrigenda ultima* to IG ix.2 he changed it, though reluctantly, to τῷ [λ]αῷ χαίρειν and related the inscription to the other Larissan epitaphs where the formula occurs. On the basis of this reading Robert accepted the inscription is Jewish.

Peek and Lifshitz propose that it is an epigram about a young girl who died before marriage. A new reading of l.4 and the inscription as a whole was proposed by Helly and accepted by Robert in BE 1976 and Pleket in SEG 1978. Helly reads the name of the author of the epigram as Hipponikis (in agreement with Kern's original reading), not Hipponike as proposed by Peek, and reconstructs the name of a second person called Leukios. He then suggests that Leukios is the same person mentioned in the Jewish farewell formula in l.5. Helly notes that there is no evidence for the stone being reused and suggests both the epigram and the final formula were contemporary with each other.

The inscription thus appears to be a funerary epigram for Leukios, and the formula in l.5 suggests that it is another Jewish metric inscription from Larissa (*Achl*). The mentioning of suitors (μνηστήρες) in l.2 gives the epigram a distinctive Homeric flavour.³⁵ ἄβολέω in l. 3 (if restored correctly) is a word from late epic, used by Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius.

Ἴππονικίς could be a nominal form variant of the name Ἴππονίκιος (Ἴππονίκος).³⁶ Ἴππονίκος and the female Ἴππονίκα are found in

³⁵ *Od.* 1.91; 4.625–9, 659, 743–4; 21.404, 412; 22.270, 315, 331, 445, etc.

³⁶ Georgacas 1948, 255–60.

Jewish use only in Cyrenaica.³⁷ However, Ἰππονικὴς could also be treated as a female name (cf. LGPN iiiB, which has only this occurrence). Apart from Larissa (*Ach10*) Λεύκιος is attested as a Jewish name also in Cyrenaica.³⁸

Peek dates the inscription to the 3rd–4th century CE on palaeographic grounds, but see *Ach1* for further discussion.

Ach3. Epitaphs of Callias(?), Theophila and Menander

Editions: le Bas 1836, ii no.1288; Miller 1874, 161–2 nos.9–10; Lolling 1886, 124 no.65; Pridik 1896, 90 no.31(a); SIG ii² 1900, no.897(b); IG ix.2 1908, nos.986a–c; Oehler 1909, 443 no.100(b); SIG iii³ 1920, no.1247,5(b); Giannopoulos 1930, 256 no.6; CIJ i 1936, nos.703–5; Schwabe, 1945/46, 66 nos.4–5 (b–c).

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Larissa. Now: Archaeological Museum of Larissa.

Details: Marble stele, 70 x 48 x 9 cm., with triangular *aetoma*, and carved square in the middle of the stele.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st–4th century CE(?).

Text (follows IG ix.2 1908):

- (a) Καλλί[ας] (or Κάλλι[ς])
Μενάνδρου.
- (b) Θεοφίλα Σελεύκου
γυνὴ τῷ λαῶ χα[ί]-
ρειν.
- (c) Μένανδρος
Μενάνδρου
τῷ λαῶ
χαίρειν[ιν].

a1. Lolling: Καλλί[ππη]; Pridik: Καλλί[ππη] or Καλλί[ας]; Giannopoulos: Καλλίμ[αχος]

a2. Lolling: Μένανδρος

b1. Miller: Θεορίλλα

c3–4. Miller: [χρηστὲ] χαῖρε

c4. Lolling, Giannopoulos: χαῖρε

(a) *Callias / Callis (son/daughter) of Menander.*

(b) *Theophila, wife of Seleucus. Farewell to the people.*

(c) *Menander (son) of Menander. Farewell to the people.*

³⁷ CJZC 11d, 12b, g, app.15f.

³⁸ CJZC 51a.

This funerary stele was discovered in the Turkish cemetery of Larissa.³⁹ It is considered Jewish because of the formula $\tau\omega\lambda\alpha\omega\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, which was used by the Jews of Larissa. Inscription (a) is inscribed in the *aetoma* while (b) and (c) are on the stele proper. The practice of reusing a funerary stele by one family or by members of the Jewish community was common in Larissa as indicated by two other inscriptions from the same area (*Ach1*, *Ach4*). Lolling suggests that l.2 of inscription (a), which he considers a separate inscription, was added later than (b) and (c) because of its position. That would be natural if the stone was reused over an extended period.

The name in l.1 of inscription (a) could be restored as either masculine or feminine. The masc. form Καλλίας occurs at Beth Shea'rim (Hall J)⁴⁰ but is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri (the form Καλῆς, however, appears in a papyrus from Arsinoe and Καλλεῦς occurs in an ostrakon from Edfu),⁴¹ while the feminine Κάλλις occurs in inscription from Cyrenaica.⁴² Other Καλλι- names like Καλλικράτης, Καλλίστρατος, Καλλιστώ, Καλλίππη, Καλλιόπη etc, could also fit in the first line of inscription (a) although Καλλίας was by far the most popular of these name.

The name Theophila (Θεοφίλα) in (b) l.1 is not much attested among Jews. The masculine form Θεόφιλος occurs in Cyrenaica⁴³ and Θεοφίλος is found at Rome.⁴⁴ The masculine form Theophilus (Θεοφίλος) also appears in a papyrus from Apollonias, Egypt.⁴⁵ Seleucus occurs in another Jewish inscription from Larissa,

³⁹ The cemetery was located outside the city, to the east, not far from the train station. On the location of the cemetery cf. Stählin 1924, 95-7, fig. 3 (it is under no. 20 on the map).

⁴⁰ BS ii, 36-7 no.60.

⁴¹ CPJ ii 307, 421.

⁴² CJZC 43d.

⁴³ CJZC 33b, 72.

⁴⁴ JIWE i 354.

⁴⁵ CPJ i 21.

and also at Rome, Edessa and Beth She'arim (*Ach12*). The name Menander (Μένανδρος) occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Rome, Sardis and Larissa (*Ach10*, q.v.). It occurs in (a) l.2 and twice in (c), so it is possible that the stele was used by only one family.

Ach4. Epitaph of Maximus, Eucrata, Maximus and Gynaika

Edition: Giannopoulos 1930, 256 no.7.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble column, 75 x 42 x 12 cm., with a protracted dark line, broken at the top and from the right side up to the middle.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows Giannopoulos 1930):

- (a) Μάξιμος
Μαξίμου λαῶ
χαίριν.
- (b) Εὐκράτα Εὐκ-
ρατος. (c) Μαξι-
μος γυνή αὐτοῦ
Γυναῖκα τῷ λα-
ῶ ^{vacat.} χαίριν.

a2. Giannopoulos: <τῷ>

a3, c4. l. χαίρειν

(a) *Maximus (son) of Maximus. Farewell to (the) people.*

(b) *Eucrata (daughter) of Eucrates.*

(c) *Maximus (and) his wife Gynaika, farewell to the people.*

According to Giannopoulos this inscription was in the collection of the Archaeological museum of Larissa. Its provenance is unknown. The inscription is assumed to be Jewish because of the formula τῷ λαῶ χαίρειν (see *Ach1*). The three separate inscriptions preserved on this column are yet another example of the popular practice among Larissan Jews of reusing funerary monuments (*Ach1*, *Ach3*).

The name Maximus (Μάξιμος), which occurs in inscriptions (a) and (c) is found in Jewish use only at Rome.⁴⁶ It occurs twice in (a) 1.1 and in (c), and it is possible that the stele was used by only one family (cf. Menander in *Ach3*). The names Eucrata/es and Gynaika are otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions and papyri from the Diaspora. Gynaika is not found as a name anywhere in LGPN.

Ach5. Epitaph of Alexander (Pl. XVIII, figs 2-3)

Editions: Gallis 1973/4, 562 (from the stone); SEG xxix 1979, no.537.

Illustration: Gallis, pl.375d (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1980, no.291; Caitling 1979/80, 39; Williams 1998, no.I.95 (English tr.).

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Grey marble *kioniskos*, broken below, 82.5 x 32.5 cm; 92 x 29 cm (Gallis).

Letters: 4.4-4.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th-6th century CE(?)

Text (follows SEG xxix 1979 and personal inspection):

(*menorah*)
 Ἀλεξάν<δ>ρου
 σχολαστικοῦ
 καὶ προστάτου.

1. Δ omitted on stone

Of Alexander, scholasticus and prostates.

The stone was found during a rescue excavation, conducted in 1973/4, of the remains of a 2nd or 3rd century building on 7 Roosevelt Street in modern Larissa. The inscription is inscribed at the upper part of the *kioniskos* under the image of a *menorah*. It has not been reported where exactly the stone was found, but it is very likely that it belonged to a stratum later than that of the foundations of the building.

⁴⁶ JIWE ii 94, 128.

1.1. Ἀλεξανδρος and the fem. form Ἀλεξανδρα are attested in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt⁴⁷, Carthage⁴⁸ and Rome,⁴⁹ and the Latin form Alexander occurs at Rome.⁵⁰ The name also occurs on papyri from Philadelphia, Phebichis, Alexandria and the districts of Herakleopolis and Arsinoë and on an *ostrakon* from Edfu;⁵¹ these persons are not necessarily Jews. The form Ἀλεξανδρ(ι)α is attested at Rome as well.⁵²

1.2. σχολαστικός became a title from the 4th century CE onwards, before that it was used mainly as a designation of a student in rhetoric.⁵³ Claus and Simon note that title was used mainly by lawyers and rhetors but did not become a technical term or office.⁵⁴ It was mainly a self-designation (as with the church historian Socrates Scholasticus; see the list of the known *scholastici* from the 3rd–8th century in Claus 1965).⁵⁵ It is probable then that Alexander was a lawyer or a rhetor. The title disappears from the sources after the 8th century.⁵⁶ The title is attested also in Jewish inscriptions from Apamea (late 4th century CE) and Sepphoris (5th century).⁵⁷

1.3. The title of προστάτης was widely used in Antiquity with a range of meanings including a 'patron', 'defender', 'head' or 'leader, president' of a professional organisation, a community or city, an army officer.⁵⁸ In Christian contexts it is applied to deacons or bishops as 'leaders or protectors' of the people,

⁴⁷ JIGRE 30, 150.

⁴⁸ Le Bohec 1981, 184, no. 38.

⁴⁹ JIWE ii 112, 259, 336, 368.

⁵⁰ JIWE ii 279, 343.

⁵¹ CPJ 13.1; 14.26, 41; 18.4, 7, 20, 23; 47.2; 136.3; 142.2, 4; 143.4–5, 7–8, 13, 16, 19; 408a.4.

⁵² JIWE ii 246, 285, 461, 568.

⁵³ CIG 2746; OGIS 693; CIL viii.3, 20274; Plutarch, *Cic.* 5; LSJ, s.v.

⁵⁴ Claus 1965; Simon 1966, 158–60; Socrates, *HE* 6.6.36 (*PG* 67, 681A).

⁵⁵ Claus 1965, 20–42.

⁵⁶ Simon 1966, 160.

⁵⁷ CIJ 991, 814.

⁵⁸ LSJ, s.v.

or to minor Church officials.⁵⁹ The title is found among the Jews in Egypt (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE),⁶⁰ Rome,⁶¹ Aphrodisias⁶² and Naples (5th–6th century CE).⁶³ It has been interpreted either as an equivalent of the Roman *patronus* (after Plutarch, *Rom.* 13; *Mar.* 5) or as some sort of ‘presiding officer’ of a local Jewish *gerousia*.⁶⁴ Thus, Horsley equates the title with that of the *gerusiarch*.⁶⁵ Frey, Leon and van der Horst suggest that the *προστάτης* was a legal representative of a Jewish community to the government.⁶⁶ Binder thinks that the offices of the *προστάτης* and *αρχιπροστάτης* (Alexandria, 3 CE)⁶⁷ in Egypt were reserved for low-ranking synagogue officials.⁶⁸ However, as has been noted by Kasher and maintained by Noy, it would be extremely difficult or even impossible to single out a particular function of the title as it was used by Jews.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Alexander was clearly a leading figure in the Jewish community at Larissa.

The absence of the formula *τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν* may indicate that the inscription is of a later date than the ones including the formula, but this is not necessarily the case (cf. *Ach6*).

The inscription can be dated, on palaeographical grounds and on the basis of the titles mentioned, between the 4th and the 6th centuries.

Ach6. Epitaph of Boukolios

Editions: Zekides 1901, 139 no.21; IG ix.2 1908, no.834; Oehler 1909, 443 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.697.

⁵⁹ St Basil the Great, *Ep.* 214.2 (PG 32, 789C); Photinus *ap.* St Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Pan.* 72.11 (PG 42, 397A).

⁶⁰ JIGRE 24.

⁶¹ JIWE ii 170, 365.

⁶² Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, ll.9a, 41.

⁶³ JIWE i 30.

⁶⁴ Juster 1914, 1.443; Krauss 1922, 145; both following Philo’s usage, cf. *Mutat.* 89; *Praem.* 77.

⁶⁵ Horsley 1979, 241–4.

⁶⁶ CIJ i, p.XCV; Leon 1995, 193; van der Horst 1991, 95.

⁶⁷ JIGRE 18.

⁶⁸ Binder 1999, 352–5.

⁶⁹ Kasher 1985, 111–14; JIWE i 30.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Williams 1997, 257, 261, no. 40; Williams 1998, V.76 (English tr.).

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Column of white stone, 51 x 93 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd–3rd century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

(hedera)
 Βουκολίου
 τοῦ <υ>ιοῦ Ἑρμίου
 καὶ Ποντιανῆς
 τῆς Ἰουδαίας.
 (hedera)

2. Yomitted on stone

3. I. καὶ

4. I. Ἰουδαίας

(Of) *Boukolios* [or *Boukolion*], the son of *Hermias*, and *Pontiana*, the Jewess.

The director of the gymnasium in Larissa, Georgios Zekides, discovered the inscription in 1900 during the construction of 'Victoria' market in the town. It was then transferred to the Gymnasium's building where most inscriptions found in Larissa and the surrounding area were kept until the foundation of the museum. Frey, followed by Williams, has suggested that the inscription is an epitaph for the deceased child of Pontiana and Hermes - Βουκολίου. However, it is more likely that the inscription belonged to two people: Boukolios the son of Hermias, and Pontiana the Jewess – presumably husband and wife. This would divide the inscription into two halves exactly balancing each other; Pontiana's ethnic would take the place of a patronymic. This inscription is, it seems, a very rare example of the intermarriage between Greeks and Jews. There are only a few literary sources regarding this practice. Philo attests exogamy among the Alexandrian Jews⁷⁰ and according to Josephus both daughters of Agrippa I (Drusilla and Berenice) married

⁷⁰ *De spec. leg.* 3.29.

non-Jews.⁷¹ According to Acts 16.1–3 one of Paul's disciples, Timothy, was born to a Jewish Christian mother and a Greek father.

The mention of Pontiana's ethnic origin supports the suggestion that her husband was not a Jew. Pontiana is otherwise unattested as a name used by Jews. Williams' suggestion that she might have been a proselyte is difficult to prove.⁷² Virtually all inscriptions that mention Jewish proselytes exclusively state that the person is a proselyte.⁷³ This obviously is not the case with Pontiana.

The name of the husband could be treated either as a nominative form of the Greek name Βουκολίων (cf. *Iliad* 6.21) or, and most likely, as a gen. sing. of Βουκολίος (Βουκολος) with a superfluous -v at the end. The names are not attested in Jewish inscriptions. Boukolion is a very rare name,⁷⁴ whereas there are ten examples of Boukolos in LGPN. These inscriptions are dated to the 4th–3rd centuries BCE.

The name of his father Ἑρμίας is a derivation of Ἑρμῆς (cf. Ἑρμιόνη, Ἑρμογένης etc.) and was popular in the Greek world.⁷⁵ It is also well attested among the Jews in Egypt,⁷⁶ Cyrenaica,⁷⁷ Aphrodisias⁷⁸ and Rome.⁷⁹

LGPN dates the inscription to the 2nd or 3rd century CE.⁸⁰

⁷¹ *AJ* 20.141–145.

⁷² Williams 1998, 196 n.63.

⁷³ *JWE* i 52; *JWE* ii 62, 218, 224, 392, 489, 491, 577; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, a13, 17, 22.

⁷⁴ LGPN i, 103; LGPN iii.1, 94. LGPN lists only three occurrences of the name on non-Jewish inscriptions: a Βουκολέων is attested in an inscription from Argos and a Βουκολίων occurs on a vase from Apulia and in an inscription from Euboea.

⁷⁵ LGPN i, 163–4; LGPN ii, 157–8; LGPN iiiA, 152–3; LGPN iiiB, 142–3; Pape & Benseler 1911, 382–4.

⁷⁶ *JGRE* 28; *CPI* 88.3; 144.6, 8, 15, 25, 33; 453.20.

⁷⁷ *CJZC* 56a.

⁷⁸ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, a24.

⁷⁹ *JWE* ii 121, 360, 378, 467, 551.

⁸⁰ LGPN ii.B, 88.

Ach7. Epitaph of Cleopo

Editions: Lolling 1883, 118–19, no.27; IG ix.2 1908, no.839; Oehler 1909, 443 no.98; Giannopoulos 1912,156; CIJ i 1936, no.698; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p.80.

Other bibliography: Ferrua 1941, 45; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele with *aetoma*, broken below, 80 x 42 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: uncertain.

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

Κλεουπῶ
Κοῖντᾶ
γυνὴ δὲ
Ἰούδα.

Cleopo (daughter) of Quintas and wife of Judas.

Frey read Κοῖντᾶ as the *cognomen* of the deceased woman and translated the inscription as ‘Cleoupo Quinta, femme de Iuda’. However, as Ferrua and Lifshitz have noted, this reading is not correct. The inscription actually gives the name the deceased woman, the father (i.e. the patronymic) in the genitive and the husband in the genitive. The name of the father was most likely Κοῖντᾶς, not Κόιντος (Quintus; cf. *Ach10*), a Greek transliteration of the Roman name Quintas. This is indicated by the Doric gen. sing. ending –α which was commonly applied, during the Roman and Byzantine periods, to feminine and masculine names ending in –ας.⁸¹ The husband’s name (Ἰούδας), which is the reason for understanding the inscription as Jewish, is also in the genitive, but his relation to the deceased is clearly indicated by the formula γυνὴ δὲ (also in *Ach1c*).

The name Κλεουπῶ could be a gen. sing. of Κλεοπαῶς, with the gen. ending –ω as a substitute for the expected genitive ending –ου. The substitution of –ου for –ω, especially in final position, was frequent in the Roman and Byzantine periods.⁸² However, in an inscription from Thessaloniki, Κλεουπῶ is found as

⁸¹ Gignac 1976, ii 12–4.

⁸² Gignac 1976, i 208–11.

nom. form of a woman's name, so that is probably the case here too.⁸³ The spelling of the name as Κλεοῦπῶ is a result of the interchange of the diphthong -οῦ with simple vowel -ο.⁸⁴ Κλεοπᾶς is attested in a Jewish context in Egypt (Κλευπᾶς, Leontopolis).⁸⁵ It also occurs as a masculine name in Lk 24.18 (one of the disciples on the road to Emmaus) and Jn 19.25 (Κλωπᾶς). According to Letronne the masculine name is a syncopated form of Cleopatros.⁸⁶

Ach8. Epitaph of Zosimus

Editions: Zekides 1900, 74 no.61; IG ix.2 1908, no.985; Oehler 1909, 443 no.99; CIJ i 1936, no.702; Schwabe 1945/6, 66 no.3.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Grey marble stele, broken above and below, 61 x 48 x 9 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

Ζώσιμος Φιλίπᾶ
λαῶ χαίριν.

Ligatures: 1 IM

1. I. Φιλίπᾶ

2. I. χαίρειν

Zosimus (son) of Philippas. Farewell to (the) people.

This inscription was found in 1888/9 near the municipal hospital of Larissa and transferred to the local Gymnasium by G. D. Zekides. It is now in the Archaeological Museum of Larissa. It is assumed to be Jewish because of the formula in 1.2 (see *Ach1*). In a Jewish context, the name Zosimus occurs in inscriptions from Rome,⁸⁷ Cyrenaica⁸⁸ and in a papyrus from Samareia (Fayum).⁸⁹

⁸³ IG X.2.1, 911.

⁸⁴ Gignac 1976, i 218-220.

⁸⁵ JIGRE 99.

⁸⁶ Letronne 1844, 489.

⁸⁷ JIWE ii 460, 469, 549.

⁸⁸ CJZC 72.

⁸⁹ CPJ ii 22.15, 35.

The name of the father should be read as Φιλίππας (LGPN iiiB s.v.) because of the gen. sing. ending -α (cf. *Ach*7). The rendering of the patronymic with one π represents a simplification of the double consonant -ππ- and occurs often on papyri from the late Roman and Byzantine periods.⁹⁰ This is the first epigraphic attestation of the name Φιλίππας. It is a form of Philip/Philippus, which occurs as a Jewish name in inscriptions from Egypt (Leontopolis),⁹¹ Cyrenaica,⁹² Campania⁹³ and Rome.⁹⁴ Philippus is also found in ostraca from Edfu, Egypt.⁹⁵

Ach9. Epitaph of Lazarus

Editions: Lolling 1882, 235–7; IG ix.2 1908, no.643, ll.27–8; Giannopoulos 1930, 256 no.2; Robert 1946, 103; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.708a.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Kalyvia (Thessaly). Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele, broken below, 190 x 25 x 16 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: uncertain.

Text (follows Giannopoulos 1930):

[Λ]άζαρος	27
[χ]αίρειν.	
[- - -] Πανσανία	
[- - ἐτ]ῶν δέκα	30
[- - ?χαῖρ]ε.	

27. IG ix.2 (Hiller de Gaertringen): [Μά]ζαρος

27. Robert 1937, 1946: [Ἑλε]άζαρος or [Ελ]άζαρος

..... Lazarus, farewell. of Pausanias(?)..... aged ten farewell(?).

Lolling discovered this inscription at the shop of Hasan Bey in the village of Kalyvia, near the modern town of Ellassona, about 60 km. from Larissa at the foot of Mt Olympus. The stone probably originated in Larissa or its environs. The left side of the stele is broken and only few letters survive from what appears to be an

⁹⁰ Gignac i 1976, 161.

⁹¹ JIGRE 70.

⁹² CJZC 55f, app. 14a.

⁹³ JIWE i 23.

⁹⁴ JIWE ii 93, 528.

inscription 31 lines long. There is a *hedera* at the end of l.26 and it is likely that ll.27–31 were added later as separate epitaphs. The practice of re-using grave-stones was common among Larissan Jews (*Ach1*; *Ach3-4*). The name Lazarus (Λάζαρος), a short form of Ele(a)zarus, is the most likely restoration of l.27, especially as l.28 is part of the standard Jewish formula at Larissa τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν (cf. *Ach1*). The name was not common among Jews in the Diaspora. It occurs in inscriptions from Egypt (ⲗⲁⲣⲱⲥ)⁹⁶ and Rome.⁹⁷ In Roman Palestine it is attested in inscriptions from Jaffa⁹⁸ and Gaza.⁹⁹ Παυσανία can be treated either as nom. sing. of a fem. name or, more likely, as a gen. sing. of the masculine name Παυσανίας, declined in the genitive with the Doric ending -α.¹⁰⁰ The name is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri. It would presumably be a patronymic here.

Ach10. Epitaph of Leukios

Editions: Pridik 1896, 93 no.40; de Sanctis 1898, cols.39–40 no.41; SIG ii² 1900, no.897; IG ix.2 1908, no.987; Oehler 1909, 443 no.101; SIG iii³ 1920, no.1247,3; Giannopoulos 1930, 256 no.4; CIJ i 1936, no.706; Schwabe 1945/6, 66 no.6.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble triangular *aetoma* with decorations. Measurements: 32 x 38 cm. (Pridik, de Sanctis); 29 x 36 cm. (IG ix.2); 30 x 31 x 9 cm. (Giannopoulos). Letters: 2 x 2.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st–4th century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

Λεύκιος Κοῖντου
τῷ λαῷ^{vac.} χαίρειν.

Leukios (son) of Quintus. Farewell to the people.

⁹⁵ CPJ 192.3, 282.1, 283.1, 286.4, 296.3, 362.1, 371.1.

⁹⁶ Antinoopolis, JIGRE 119; El-Kanais, JIGRE 123–4.

⁹⁷ JWE ii 171.

⁹⁸ CIJ ii 899, 935.

⁹⁹ CIJ ii 966.

¹⁰⁰ Gignac ii 1976, 12–4.

The text is inscribed across the top of the *aetoma*. Pridik recorded the inscription during his visit, together with Gaetano de Sanctis, to Larissa in 1895. It was part of the collection of inscriptions brought to the Gymnasium of Larissa on Lolling's recommendation a few years earlier. According to Pridik's notes, at that time the collection was not systematically arranged and the inventory books lost.¹⁰¹ He could not verify the provenance of this inscription, but suggested it came from Larissa or its environs. It is assumed to be Jewish because of the formula in 1.2 (see *Ach1*). Κόϊντος, the Greek form of the Roman name Quintus, was a reasonably common name in Greece and Thessaly in particular¹⁰²; another form is found in *Ach7*. In a Jewish context it occurs in inscriptions from Rome¹⁰³ and Cyrenaica.¹⁰⁴ Leukios is attested as a Jewish name only at Larissa (*Ach2*) and in Cyrenaica.¹⁰⁵

Ach11. Epitaph of Menander

Edition: Giannopoulos 1930, 256 no.5.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele, 70 x 48 x 9 cm., with triangular *aetoma*.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st–4th century CE(?).

Text (follows Giannopoulos 1930):

Μένανδρος
λαῶ χαί-
ριν.

2–3. 1. χαίρειν

Menander. Farewell to (the) people.

This inscription was recognised as Jewish because of the final formula, which, as Robert has suggested, was used exclusively by Larissan Jews (cf. *Ach1*). The name

¹⁰¹ Pridik 1896, 80.

¹⁰² LGPN i, 268; ii, 262; iii.1, 253; iii.2, 242; IG ix.2, 289, 320, 563, 830, 944, 1104.

¹⁰³ JIWE ii 559–60.

¹⁰⁴ CJZC 12.

¹⁰⁵ CJZC app.12d.

Menander (Μένανδρος) occurs in another Jewish inscription from Larissa (*Ach3*) and at Sardis¹⁰⁶ and Rome.¹⁰⁷ It was also a popular non-Jewish name in Thessaly.¹⁰⁸

Ach12. Epitaph of Nicolaus

Editions: Miller 1874, 162 no.15; IG ix.2 1908, no.989; Oehler 1909, 443 no.103; CIJ i 1936, no.707; Schwabe 1945/6, 66 no.7.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer revised iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele. No measurements published.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

Νεικόλαος
Σελεύκου
λα[ῶ χαίρει]ν.

Nicolaus (son) of Seleucus. Farewell to (the) people.

The final formula is the reason for thinking the inscription Jewish (see *Ach1*). The name Nicolaus is found in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt only (Leontopolis and Fayum).¹⁰⁹ It is also the name of a proselyte from Antioch, one of the first seven deacons, in Acts 6.5. The name, together with the shorter forms Νικόλαος and Νεικόλας, was not uncommon in Larissa and Thessaly in general.¹¹⁰ Seleucus appears also in another Jewish inscription from Larissa (*Ach3*), and at Rome,¹¹¹ Edessa¹¹² and Beth Shearim.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ CIJ ii 750.

¹⁰⁷ JIWE ii 531.

¹⁰⁸ IG ix.2 13, 73, 121, 206 Ib, 288, 359, 517, 534, 536, 544, 567-8, 751, 975, 1103, 1105, 1109, 1042, 1115, 1122, 1149, 1187, 1189, 1217, 1281, 1324.

¹⁰⁹ JIGRE 32, 115.

¹¹⁰ IG ix.2, 17, 24, 68, 90-1, 415, 463, 515, 517, 552, 701, 708, 989, 1102-3, 1108, 1115, 1117, 1136, 1321.

¹¹¹ JIWE ii 485.

¹¹² CIJ ii 1417-18.

¹¹³ BS ii, 36-7 no.60.

Ach13. Epitaph of Secundus

Editions: Lolling 1887, 349 no.108; SIG ii² 1900, no.897; IG ix.2 1908, no.990; Oehler 1909, 443 no.104; SIG iii³ 1920, no.1247, 4; Giannopoulos 1930, 255, no. 1; CIJ i 1936, no.708; Schwabe 1945/6, 66 no.8.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum.

Details: White marble stele, 95 x 42 x 9 cm., with *anthemion*.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows Giannopoulos 1930):

ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ ΣΕΚΟΥΝ-
δου τῷ λαῷ χρί-
πειν.

Secundus (son) of Secundus. Farewell to the people.

The inscription is assumed to be Jewish because of the 'farewell' formula (cf. *Ach1*). The name Secundus also appears in a Jewish inscription from Rome.¹¹⁴ The female form Secunda occurs at Ostia¹¹⁵ and in Cyrenaica (in this case Σεκόνδα).¹¹⁶ The name is found only in two non-Jewish inscriptions from Thessaly.¹¹⁷ Naming a son after his father seems to have been common among the Jews of Larissa (cf. *Ach3c*, *Ach4a,b*).

Ach14. Epitaph

Editions: Tziaphalias 1984, 223 no.106; SEG xxxv 1985, no.633.

Found at Larissa. Now: Larissa, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.79/38.

Details: White marble *kioniskos*, broken above and below, 40 x 40 x 14 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows SEG xxxv 1985):

[- - -]τηρ τῷ λαῷ
χέρειν.

1. Tziaphalias: [Πα]τήρ

2. 1. χάριπειν

....ter. Farewell to the people.

¹¹⁴ JWE ii 383.

¹¹⁵ JWE i 14.

¹¹⁶ CJZC 43b, 51c, 51f(?), 59c, 68.

¹¹⁷ IG ix.2 21, 1115.

This inscription was discovered on a *kionoskos* re-used in the frame of a door in a house in Larissa. A round hole was cut at one of the ends of the stele in order to fit it to the frame. Tziaphalias restores [Πα]τήρ in the first line assuming, perhaps, that it was a religious title. The concluding formula τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν was characteristic for the Jewish community of Larissa (see *Achl*), and was always preceded by the deceased's name in the nominative (often with a patronymic in the gen.). Therefore the letters -τήρ are more likely to be the end of name of the deceased, perhaps Soter, the only name attested for Thessaly in LGPN iiiB, which would fit.

Tziaphalias dates the inscription to the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds, but see *Achl* for further discussion.

Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos)

Phthiotic Thebes is located 18 km. south-west of and 3 km. west of modern Nea Anchialos.¹¹⁸ The city was captured by Philip of Macedon in 217 BCE and was renamed Philippopolis. It was the capital of Achaia Phthiotis, an independent border region until the Roman occupation of Thessaly. During Roman rule the old city was abandoned in favour of the port town of Pyrasos (until that time the independent port of Phthiotic Thebes). The new city was called again Thebes. Thebes prospered as the main sea-port of Thessaly until the 7th century when it was destroyed by a fire (most probably after an attack by the Slav tribes that settled in the region). Although the city was rebuilt it never fully recovered. The Christian bishops of Thebes are mentioned for the first time in 325 CE and for the last time at the end of the 8th century CE. Nine

¹¹⁸ On the location and history of Phthiotic Thebes cf. Stählin 1924, 171-3.

basilicas survive from that period - among them Basilica A' of St. Demetrios (5th century CE), Basilica G' of Bishop Peter (4th-6th century CE); Basilica of the Cemetery; Basilica B' of Bishop Elpidius (5th-6th century CE). Other recovered structures from Thebes include two baths, an avenue with shops, and the Bishopric mansion. The last evidence for the city is from 9th century CE when it was abandoned. The new town of Nea Anchialos was founded at the beginning of the 20th century on the site of ancient Pyrasos/Thebes.

Ach15. Epitaph of Esdras

Editions: Deilaki 1973/4, 548 (majuscule text); SEG xxix 1979, no.556.

Other bibliography: BE 1980, no.284; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos). Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Fragment of a grey-blue marble column (*kioniskos*?). No measurements published.

Language: Greek. Date: uncertain.

Text (follows Deilaki):

Ἑσδρας
Ἰωνάθου.

Esdras (son) of Jonathan.

This inscription was found in a necropolis at the eastern end of ancient Phthiotic Thebes. Deilaki reported 28 Hellenistic and Early Christian burials in total. The occurrence of Early Christian burials in the necropolis may also suggest that this inscription is Christian – the names Ezra/Esdras and Jonathan were likely to be used also by Christians. However, the inscription was recognised as Jewish by Deilaki, and accepted by Robert in BE and Pleket in SEG, because of the names of the deceased man and his father. Ἑσδρας is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri, but it is the normal Greek version of Ezra. Ἰωνάθου occurs in a Jewish context in

inscriptions from Rome,¹¹⁹ Taenarum (*Ach56*) and Cyrenaica.¹²⁰ The form Ἰωνάθας is attested at Beth Shearim.¹²¹

Ach16. Epitaph of Eusebius and Theodora (Pl. XVIII, fig. 4)

Bibliography: Spyridakis 1901, 37–8 no.2; Bees 1911, 105 no.40; Giannopoulos 1912, 155, 159–61, no.15; Peterson 1926, 279; Giannopoulos 1930, 258 no.1; CIJ i 1936, no.696; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.696; JIGRE 1992, no.144 (from CIJ and Schwabe).

Illustrations: Spyridakis (facsimile); Bees (facsimile); Goodenough, *Symbols* iii 1953, fig. 862 (reverse only).

Other bibliography: Schwabe 1938, 512; Robert 1946, 103; Goodenough 1950/1, 461–3; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 60–1; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Feissel & Avraméa 1987, 387 no.11; Williams 1998, no.I.40 (English tr.).

Found at Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos). Now: Almyros, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Plaque of grey stone, inscribed on both sides, broken on the left and below, 32 x 24 x 7 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd–7th century CE.

Text (follows Schwabe and facsimile):

(front) [μ]νημα E-
[ὕ]σεβίου 'Α-
[λ]εξανδρο-
[υ] καὶ Θεο-
[δώρα]ς γυ- 5
[ναϊκός] αὐ-
[τοῦ] - -].

(reverse) (*shofar*) (*menorah*) (*lulab*)
ἐνορῶ[ντος]
Θεοῦ.
χ[αίρειν/-αἶρε?].

Front 2–4. JIGRE: 'Α[λ]εξανδρ[έως]

Reverse to 2. Spyridakis, Bees, Giannopoulos, Peterson, CIJ, Goodenough: [Ε]κ[ὸν] | ἐνορῶ[ντος] | Θεοῦ

2–3. Schwabe: Ἐνορῶ[ντος? Φίλο] | Θεοῦ.

(front): *Memorial of Eusebius (son) of Alexander [or the Alexandrian] and Theodora(?), his wife.*

(reverse): *God (is) watching. Farewell (?).*

¹¹⁹ JIWE ii, 265, 366.

¹²⁰ CJZC 72, app.10.

¹²¹ Schwabe & Lifshitz ii 1974, 119, no. 132.

This inscription was part of the collection of the Antiquarian Society 'Othrys' (Φιλαρχαίος Ἑταιρεία Ὀθρυῖος) transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Almyros in 1927. Its exact provenance is not known, but it was one of a number of inscriptions collected by Athanasios Spyridakis in Almyros and the surrounding area, which includes the site of ancient Phthiotic Thebes, between 1898 and 1901. Spyridakis considered the inscription Christian because of the names of the deceased, and despite the appearance of a *menorah* on the reverse.¹²² He also read *iota* and *kappa* on each side of the menorah and restored the first three lines of the reverse as: [ε]λκ[ων] | ἐνορῶ[ντος] | θεοῦ ('the image of the watching God'). Bees and Giannopoulos, followed by Peterson, Frey and Goodenough, accepted his reading, but observed that the inscription should be recognised as Jewish.

In his review of CIJ, Schwabe referred to a squeeze sent to him by Giannopoulos and established that the 'letters' were actually a *shofar* and a *lulab* flanking the *menorah*. A similar representation is found in the right lozenge bordering the inscription from the mosaic floor of Hammam Lif synagogue (6th century CE).¹²³

Schwabe's reading of rev. ll.1-2 as a name and patronymic, Ἐνορῶ[ντος? Φίλο] | θεοῦ, is problematic. Horbury & Noy in JIGRE note that the phrase ἐνορῶντος θεοῦ should be considered as a genitive absolute and it is preferable to follow the original restoration of Spyridakis.¹²⁴ He also suggested that this acclamation is reminiscent of the LXX text of Zech 4.10, where the seven lights of the *menorah* are compared to the seven eyes of the God of Israel. Spyridakis' idea was developed by Peterson and, mainly, Goodenough who related

¹²² Spyridakis 1901, 37.

¹²³ Brooklyn Museum, inv.no.05.26. Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 94; iii 1953, 891; Hachlili 1998, 207 (pl.IV-13a), 317-18 (fig.VIIb); Hachlili 2000, 357 (D3.3, pl.II-41a).

¹²⁴ JIGRE 144.

the acclamation to the cosmological interpretation of the menorah found in Philo¹²⁵ and Josephus¹²⁶ and suggested it represented belief in astral afterlife. Peterson observed the acclamation should be related to the phrase Εἰς Θεός.¹²⁷ It could also be interpreted as a warning against violation of the grave. Curses invoking the judgement and vengeance of the God of Israel upon those who disturb the grave are frequently found in the Jewish epitaphs of Asia Minor.¹²⁸

In JIGRE front II.2-4 is understood as containing the ethnic 'Alexandrian', but it seems better to take it as the patronymic 'Α[λ]εξανδρο[ν] ('son of Alexander'), as Giannopoulos originally proposed; the facsimile shows an *omicron* at the end of I.3. On Alexander in Jewish use, see *Ach*5. The name Eusebius is attested in a Jewish context in inscriptions from Rome and Beth Shea'rim.¹²⁹ It occurs as Εὐσέβιος or Εὐσέβης in inscriptions from Monteverde, Vigna Randanini and Villa Torlonia catacombs.¹³⁰ Εὐσεβίς also appears as a female name at Villa Torlonia,¹³¹ and Εὐσεβία is found at Monteverde.¹³² The names Θεοδώρα and Θεόδωρος are well attested among Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora. They occur in inscriptions from Egypt (Xenephyris),¹³³ Rome,¹³⁴ Porto,¹³⁵ Cyrenaica,¹³⁶ Aegina (*Ach*58), Crete (*Cre*1), Seleukia in Cilicia,¹³⁷ Apamea, Tyre¹³⁸, Jaffa,¹³⁹

¹²⁵ *De vit. Mos.* 2.102-5; *Q.E.* 2.71-81.

¹²⁶ *BJ* 5.217; *AJ* 3.144, 182.

¹²⁷ Goodenough 1950/1, 1953.

¹²⁸ Strubbe 1994, 83-100, cat.nos.1-5.

¹²⁹ *BS* ii, 140-1 no.164.

¹³⁰ *JWE* ii 6, 68, 168, 309, 354, 374, 467.

¹³¹ *JWE* ii 469.

¹³² *JWE* ii 17.

¹³³ *JIGRE* 24.

¹³⁴ *JWE* ii 206; *JWE* ii 454, 457.

¹³⁵ *JWE* i 17.

¹³⁶ *CJZC* 7a-c, 15, 53b, 57h, 66b, app.6, app.18I.

¹³⁷ *CIJ* ii 783.

¹³⁸ *CIJ* ii 803, 818, 879.

¹³⁹ *CIJ* ii 922.

Beth Shea'rim,¹⁴⁰ Caesarea in Palestine,¹⁴¹ and in an Aramaic inscription from Er-Rama.¹⁴² Θεοδώρα also appears in a papyrus from Arsinoë¹⁴³ and Θεόδωρος is found in Jewish papyri and *ostraca* from Upper Egypt, Edfu, Samareia, Gurob, Arsinoë and Alexandria.¹⁴⁴

Schwabe also restored from the letter *chi* in rev. 1.3 the farewell formula τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν, which was popular among Larissan Jews (see *Achl*). However, this is unlikely as none of the inscriptions from Larissa, which uses the formula, has a menorah or any other Jewish symbol.

Giannopoulos dated the inscription 'not later than the seventh century' on palaeographic grounds.¹⁴⁵ The symbols make it unlikely to be much earlier than the 3rd century CE.

Ach17. Epitaph of Saul and Anna (Pl. XIX, fig. 1)

Editions: Soteriou 1936, 66; Robert 1946, 103; McDevitt 1970, 15–16 no.84; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.696a; Brooten 1982, 36 (follows CIJ).

Illustration: Soteriou, fig.9 (photo from the stone).

Other bibliography: Reimann 1937, 148; Robert 1940, 26; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Feissel & Avraméa 1987, 390 no.46.

Found in Stupi area, Nea Anchialos. Now: Nea Anchialos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Grey stone plaque broken through the middle; the upper right and left corners are broken off, 35 x 25 x 3.5 cm.

Letters: 4 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd-4th century CE or later.

Text (follows Soteriou):

(peacock) (lulab) (menorah) (lulab) (peacock)

μνημα Σαοῦ-

λ κ(αί) τῆς αὐτοῦ

γαμῆ τῆς Ἀννας.

2. κ(αί) represented by K with abbreviation mark.

¹⁴⁰ BS ii, no.153.

¹⁴¹ Lifshitz 1967, no.67.

¹⁴² CIJ ii 979.

¹⁴³ CPJ 47.

¹⁴⁴ CPJ 24, 28, 32, 47, 109, 142–3, 170, 248, 421.

¹⁴⁵ Giannopoulos 1912, 160.

Monument of Saul and his wife Anna.

This inscription was discovered built into the wall of a house in the Stupi area at the eastern end of modern Nea Anchialos, outside the city wall of ancient Phthiotic Thebes. According to Soteriou, there are traces of a triangular *aetoma* on the upper part of the stone. The symbols represented above the inscription are a *menorah* flanked on each side by a peacock holding or pecking a palm bough or *lulab*. The representation of peacocks (which he called 'doves') led Soteriou to suggest a Christian influence. Peacocks were a favourite decorative element in Roman art, but as religious images they were mainly employed in Christian iconography. However, representations of peacocks have also been found on Jewish monuments. Peacocks flanking a *menorah* appear on a relief from the synagogue in Priene,¹⁴⁶ on a marble basin from Tarragona,¹⁴⁷ on a plaque with *menorah* from the Jonathan P. Rosen collection (7th century; probable provenance Asia Minor),¹⁴⁸ and on a door-jamb from Qasrin, Golan.¹⁴⁹ This representation is almost identical to the standard Christian one, but the *menorah* is substituted for the cross.

Σαούλ is attested only twice on Jewish inscriptions or papyri. It is the name borne by one of the presbyters mentioned in the mosaic inscriptions from the synagogue of Apamea, and it occurs in an epitaph from Jaffa.¹⁵⁰ Mussies notes that Σαούλ is a Graecized form of the Hebrew name שְׂאוּל or the Aramaic שְׂאוּלָא, both 'passive participles indicating a son that had been "asked" or

¹⁴⁶ Hachlili 2001, 78, D4.2, fig. II-22c.

¹⁴⁷ JIWE i 185, pl.28.

¹⁴⁸ Fine 1996, 161 no.26, fig.2.19c.

¹⁴⁹ Hachlili 2001, 72.

¹⁵⁰ CIJ ii 803, 952.

“prayed for”.¹⁵¹ Ἀννα is a gen. sing. of the first declension feminine personal name Ἀννα.¹⁵² Ἀννα occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Rome (3rd–4th century),¹⁵³ Venosa (here however the name is in the genitive: *Annes*),¹⁵⁴ Oria¹⁵⁵, Beth Shea‘rim and possibly Corinth (*Ach49*).¹⁵⁶ In *JIWE* i 72 from Venosa, the name is written with only one *n*, which corresponds to the Greek Ἀνά. The name is found in the LXX as both feminine (3 Kgs 12.24, 15.10) and masculine (1Chron 3.20) and as a patronymic (Gen 35.3).

The array of symbols suggests that the inscription is no earlier than the 3rd–4th century CE.

Ach18. Epitaph of Peristeria (Pl. XIX, fig. 2)

Editions: Soteriou 1936, 66 (from the stone); *AA* 1937, 148; Robert 1940, 26–7; BE 1941, no.74; Robert 1946, 103; McDevitt 1970, 16 no.85; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.696b; Brooten 1982, 35–9 (follows CIJ).

Illustrations: Soteriou, fig.10 (photo).

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Feissel & Avraméa 1987, 390 no.47; Kraemer 1988, no.87 (English tr.); Trebilco 1991, 111–13 no.1.5; Williams 1998, no.V.34 (English tr.); van der Horst 1991, 106; Brooten 2000, 217; de Lange 2001, 48–55.

Found in Stupi area, Nea Anchialos. Now: Almyros, Archaeological Museum. Details: *Kioniskos* of grey stone, hacked at the top and broken below, 35 x 24 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century or later(?).

Text (follows Soteriou 1936):

μνημα
Περιστερίας
ἀρχ[η]-
γίσις.
(*menorah*)

3–4. Robert: I. ἀρχηγίσσης

Memorial of Peristeria, archegissa.

¹⁵¹ Mussies 1994, 245.

¹⁵² Gignac ii 1976, 10.

¹⁵³ *JIWE* ii 10.

¹⁵⁴ *JIWE* i 90.

¹⁵⁵ *JIWE* i 195.

¹⁵⁶ BS ii, nos.2–3, 70.

This inscription was, like *Ach17*, discovered in the Stupi area at the eastern end of modern Nea Anchialos and outside the city wall of ancient Phthiotic Thebes. The text is very poorly inscribed, and the letters were just scratched on the surface. Soteriou, the original editor of the inscription, suggested ἀρχηγίσις could indicate either the wife of an ἀρχηγός or a feminine form of the title, but noted that it had not been attested before.¹⁵⁷ Robert, independently, interpreted the inscription in a similar way. He also noted that a common noun περιστερίας and the proper name Ἀρχηγίσις would be inexplicable here.

Robert suggested the name of the deceased woman was formed from περιστερὰ (a dove) and was part of the large group of Greek personal names formed from the names of animals. The name Περιστερία has not been attested epigraphically so far, but the name Περιστερὰ occurs as a personal name in epitaphs from Athens (3rd-4th century BCE)¹⁵⁸, Oropos (3rd century BCE)¹⁵⁹ and Venusia in Apulia (1st century CE).¹⁶⁰

According to Robert ἀρχηγίσις (ἀρχηγίσσης) is the genitive of ἀρχηγίσσα a female form of the title ἀρχηγός, which he equates to the Latin *principalis*.¹⁶¹ The basis of his assumption is the occurrence of the title ἀρχηγός on a gold medallion (actually a votive plaque, which was probably attached to the curtain in front of the Holy Ark) preserved at the Jewish Museum in London.¹⁶² A new reading of that inscription on the medallion was recently proposed by de Lange, who suggests that the word is really an abbreviated form of ἀρχισυναγωγός.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ He is misquoted on this point by Brooten 1982.

¹⁵⁸ IG ii², no. 1534; SEG xxi 1965, no. 1060.

¹⁵⁹ Petrakos 1997, 464 no. 671.

¹⁶⁰ LGPN iii.A 1997, 360.

¹⁶¹ Robert 1940, 25-7.

¹⁶² CIJ i² 731g.

¹⁶³ de Lange 2001, 52-3.

Understanding ἀρχηγίσσα as a title in its own right is the most plausible explanation of the word in the inscription, although the possibility that it designates the wife of an ἀρχηγός should not be ignored. In a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus the wife of the consul Apion (d. 577) is described as ὑπατίσσα.¹⁶⁴ The word was formed in the same way as the Jewish *pateressa* at Venosa¹⁶⁵ and ἀρχισυναγωγίσσα at Cisamus, Crete (*Cre3*), from a masculine noun. The same construction is attested in Christian inscriptions: διακόνισσα, ὑποδιακόνισσα, καλλιγραφίσσα, etc.¹⁶⁶ The problem is that the title ἀρχηγός has not been attested before on Jewish inscriptions and it is almost impossible to determine what type of function it designates. Robert's suggestion that it is similar to *principalis*, although plausible, needs some clarification. In the inscription he used to explain the function of ἀρχηγός, *principalis* probably designates a non-commissioned army officer rather than being a Jewish title (cf. *Moes I*). As de Lange has observed, ἀρχηγός was very rarely used to designate an official administrative post or title.¹⁶⁷ The word has the general meaning of a 'founder' or 'chief' (LSJ, s.v.), and it is possible that Peristeria received the title after the foundation or donation of a property to the local Jewish community. Brooten has noted that it is used in the LXX as a translation of such Hebrew terms as ראש (Ex 6.14; Num 13.3, 14.4) and קצין (Judg[B] 11.6, 11).¹⁶⁸

Robert, followed by LSJ, suggests the epitaph dates to the 5th-6th century CE, which is the date he proposed for the gold medallion at the Jewish Museum in London, because of the occurrence of title ἀρχηγίσσα. These grounds are

¹⁶⁴ P. Oxy. 2480, ll. 19, 242, 244; Mentzu-Meimaris 1982, 440 nos. 121-6.

¹⁶⁵ JWE i 63.

¹⁶⁶ Horsley 1976, no. 79; Mentzu-Meimaris 1982, 435, 438, nos. 48-57; 91.

¹⁶⁷ de Lange 2001, 51.

¹⁶⁸ Brooten 1982, 36-9; Brooten 2000, 217 n. 21.

dubious, but the use of the *menorah* means that the inscription is unlikely to be much earlier than the 3rd century CE.

Ach19. Epitaph(?)

Editions: Schwabe 1938, 512; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.696c.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found at the village of Aketsi (modern Mikrothebes). Present whereabouts unknown. No details published.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century CE or later(?).

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

(*menorah*)

H C E

C A

Giannopoulos sent a transcription of this inscription to Schwabe, who published it in his review of Frey's corpus. It most probably originated from Phthiotic Thebes.¹⁶⁹ Schwabe, citing Giannopoulos, reported that the stone was found in the village of Aketsi (Ἀκέτσι). Aketsi is situated about 25 km. south-west of Volos, and was built next to the ruins of ancient Phthiotic Thebes and renamed after 1912 as Mikrothebes. Too little of the text is recorded to suggest any reconstruction.

Ach20. Epitaph of Theodotus and Leontia

Editions: Dina 1992, 453; SEG xlii 1992, no.541.

Found at Nea Anchialos. Now: Nea Anchialos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Stele, 51 x 32 x 4 cm.

Letters: 2-3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century CE or later(?).

Text (follows Dina 1992):

	μνήμα
(<i>menorah</i>)	Θεοδότῳ
	καὶ Λεωντήας.

Memorial of Theodotus and Leontia.

¹⁶⁹ On Aketsi cf. Stählin 1924, 171.

Found out of context in modern Nea Anchialos. The genitive ending -ω is a substitute for the genitive ending -ου. The same phenomenon occurs in *Ach7* and *Ach21*. The name Theodotus (which corresponds to the Hebrew Jonathan) is not much attested in Jewish inscriptions from the Diaspora, but appears frequently on papyri and *ostraca* from Egypt (Θεοδότος¹⁷⁰ and Θεοδότως¹⁷¹). However, it was popular among the Jews in Cyrenaica¹⁷² and also occurs in inscriptions from Egypt (El-Kanais)¹⁷³ and Rome (Monteverde catacomb, 3rd–4th century).¹⁷⁴ The form Θειοδότος is also attested in Cyrenaica.¹⁷⁵ It also occurs on an inscription from Haifa.¹⁷⁶ The rendering of the name Leontia with the interchange of the back vowels ω and η and the vowels ο and ι represents spelling, which was frequent throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁷⁷ On the name Leontia consult *Ach1*.

Ach21. Epitaph of Parigorius and Eutychia

Edition: Dina 1992, 453.

Found at Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos). Now: Nea Anchialos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Grey stone stele, 25 x 24 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2.5–3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century or later(?).

Text (follows Dina 1992):

(*menorah*)
 κυμητήριο-
 ν Παριγορίω
 [- -] μου καὶ Ε-
 ὑτυχία [- - -]
 [- - - -] 5

1–2. 1. κοιμητήριον

¹⁷⁰ CPJ 22, 28, 31–2 37, 47, 131, 146, 149.

¹⁷¹ CPJ 173, 176, 178, 240, 249, 261, 263–4, 266, 269–70, 274–6.

¹⁷² CJZC 32, 41, 50a–c, 71, app.11d, app.11e.

¹⁷³ JIGRE 121.

¹⁷⁴ JIWE ii 25.

¹⁷⁵ CJZC 34.

¹⁷⁶ CIJ 2, 882.

¹⁷⁷ Gignac i 1976, 244–6, 270.

Resting-place of Parigorius (son?) ofmus, and Eutychia

Dina discovered this inscription in 1985 during excavations in Zariphi Street at modern Nea Anchialos. The stele was lying *in situ* next to a chest-shaped tomb. The term κοιμητήριον frequently occurs in Christian epitaphs from Thessaly, Corinthia, Attica, Phrygia and Egypt.¹⁷⁸ It is also found in three Jewish epitaphs from Athens (*Ach*28-30). In an inscription from Byzie in Thrace a certain Rebecca is described as τῆς κεκυμημένης (*Thr*3), showing the spelling with κυμ- which is also found here. Creaghan & Raubitschek's suggestion that the occurrence of the term κοιμητήριον in Jewish epitaphs should be attributed to Christian influence is plausible, but cannot be verified from other sources.¹⁷⁹ Its root is the verb κοιμάω, 'to sleep', and the related noun κοίμησις, 'sleep', is very commonly used to describe the repose of the Jewish deceased in the tomb, especially at Rome.

On the gen sing. -ω ending in Παριγορίω cf. *Ach*7. The name Paregorius (the standard spelling uses *eta*) was used mainly by Jews and corresponds to the Hebrew Menachem, 'consoler'. It occurs in inscriptions from Beroea (*Mac*6), Rome,¹⁸⁰ Narbonne,¹⁸¹ Aphrodisias¹⁸² and El-Hammeh¹⁸³ in the Diaspora, and at Jaffa¹⁸⁴ and Beth She'arim in Palestine.¹⁸⁵ The letters -μων in l.3 are probably the end of Parigorius' patronymic. Eutychia (Εὐτυχία) and the masc. form Eutychius (Εὐτόχιος) were popular in Antiquity as proper names or as by-names stressing that luck was one of the qualities of the bearer. The name occurs in Jewish

¹⁷⁸ Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 5-6.

¹⁷⁹ Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 6.

¹⁸⁰ JIWE ii 539.

¹⁸¹ JIWE i 189.

¹⁸² Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 6 l.32b; 103, no.46.

¹⁸³ CIJ ii 860.

¹⁸⁴ CIJ ii 926, 939, 944-5.

¹⁸⁵ BS ii 40-1 no.61.

inscriptions from Rome (Εὐτυχεῖς¹⁸⁶, Εὐτύχης,¹⁸⁷ Εὐτυχιάνο¹⁸⁸), Aphrodisias¹⁸⁹, Acmonia¹⁹⁰ Athens (*Ach28*) and Thessaloniki (*Mac17*).

Ach22. Epitaph (Pl. XIX, fig. 3)

Editions: Soteriou 1929, 158 no.26; McDevitt 1970, 19 no.118.

Illustrations: Soteriou 1929, 158 (photo; from the stone).

Found at Phthiotic Thebes (Nea Anchialos). Now: Nea Anchialos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: White marble plaque, broken below and on the right, 13 x 10 cm.

Letters: 2–3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century CE or later(?).

Text (follows Soteriou 1929 and photo):

(*menorah*) μν[ῆμα]
 νος καὶ [.....]
 ετης[---]
 ατ[---]

3. Soteriou: ἔτησιν--

Memorial ofon andete...

This inscription was found during the excavations of an annex to the eastern side of Basilica A in Phthiotic Thebes. Soteriou recognised the image at the beginning of the first line as a *menorah* and therefore identified the inscription as Jewish. The image is very similar to a palm bough, but has seven branches and a square base. Similar depictions of the *menorah* are found at Rome,¹⁹¹ Beth She‘arim¹⁹² and on the mirror plaques from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.¹⁹³

The letters in l. 3 are most probably the end of a fem. name like Ἀετῆς, Ἀρετῆς, Ἀλκετῆς etc, in the genitive and not the word ‘years’ (ἔτησιν) in the dative as suggested by Soteriou.

¹⁸⁶ JIWE ii 93.

¹⁸⁷ JIWE ii 107.

¹⁸⁸ JIWE ii 235, 299(?), 359, 360(?), 366.

¹⁸⁹ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 6 ll.25b, 27b; 100 no.26.

¹⁹⁰ CIJ ii 763.

¹⁹¹ JIWE ii 67, pl.IV; Hachlili 2000, 87–95, fig.II-29, cat.no.D8.15.

¹⁹² Hachlili 2000, 83–4, fig.II-24

¹⁹³ Hachlili 2000, 104–8, cat.no.IS15.1-3.

Ach23. Epitaph of Hermogenes (Pl. XIX, fig. 4)

Editions: Hengel 1966, 158; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.708c (from the stone); Lifshitz 1975, 103–4 no.3.

Illustration: CIJ i² 1975 (photo).

Other bibliography: Robert 1958, 43–44 n.4; BE 1958, no.281a; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Unknown provenance. Now: Nea Anchialos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele, 95 x 28 x 10 cm., broken in three and damaged on the right.

Language: Greek. Date: end of 3rd or beginning of 4th century CE.

Text (follows Lifshitz 1975):

Τάφοι <ἐ>κό<ν>(των) ἢ κ(αὶ) ἀ[ε-]
[κόν]των ἐπὶ
γῆ[ς ἀνθρ]ώπων.
κεῖτε Ἑρμογένη[ς]
ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ- 5
τῷ ἑά<ν> δέ τεις τοῦ-
του τὸν τάφον ἀ-
νορύξει, δώσει τι
ἀγιοτάτη συν- 10
αγωγῇ δυναρί-
ων μυριάδες
δέκα.

Ligatures: 1 AK, HK

1. Τάφοι AKOYHK on the stone

6–7. 1. τις τούτου

8. 1. δώσει/δώσει τῇ

10. 1. δυνάριων μυριάδας

Tombs are (the destiny) of men on earth, whether this is their will or not(?). Hermogenes lies in this tomb. If somebody opens this tomb, he shall pay to the most holy synagogue 100,000 denarii.

The stele was noticed by Jean Poilloux and reported by Robert in 1958. According to Robert, Poilloux discovered the stele in the museum of Volos. Robert's announcement did not include the full text of the inscription or the measurements of the stone. However, in 1975 Lifshitz managed to trace the inscription in the Archaeological Museum of Nea Anchialos, not Volos as Robert stated. He also acquired a photograph of the stone through the then ambassador of Israel to Greece, A. Moysis.

Robert suggested that the inscription originated from Larissa or Almyros but gave his preference to Larissa. Lifshitz opted for Almyros. The exact provenance of the inscription cannot be established, but it is likely that it actually originated from Nea Anchialos (Phthiotic Thebes). The existence of a Jewish community in Phthiotic Thebes is well documented epigraphically (*Ach15-22*). Moreover, it is unlikely that an inscription discovered at Almyros or Larissa would have been transferred to Nea Anchialos and not to the local museums of those towns.¹⁹⁴

The photograph supplied by Lifshitz in CIJ i² shows that the inscription is on the upper part of the stele. The stele is broken into three parts: through l. 8 and at the bottom. The top right corner of the stone is also broken and the surface is roughly tooled.

The reading of the formula in ll. 1–3 was suggested by Lifshitz. It is an unusual variation of the large group of similar formulae found in Greek epitaphs offering consolation for death with the idea that it is inevitable to all men.¹⁹⁵ According to Lifshitz's reading the present formula states that 'tombs' rather than 'death' are inevitable. However, his restoration of ll. 1–3 lacks any epigraphic parallel and remains very tentative.

The name Hermogenes (Ἑρμογένης) occurs in a Jewish epitaph from Rome (3rd–4th century CE)¹⁹⁶ and in a papyrus from Alexandria (13 BCE).¹⁹⁷

The formula against the violation of the grave in ll. 7–12 is not uncommon on Jewish epitaphs. Similar formulae are frequently found in inscriptions from Asia Minor.¹⁹⁸ In the Balkans, the Jewish epitaphs with a financial penalty for violating the tomb are confined to Macedonia: Thessaloniki (*Mac17*), Beroia (*Mac9*) and

¹⁹⁴ On the history of the archaeological exploration of Thessaly, see Gallis 1979, 1–16.

¹⁹⁵ Tolman 1910, 77–84; Lattimore 1942, 250–6.

¹⁹⁶ JIWE ii 121.

¹⁹⁷ CPJ 144, ll. 6–8, 15, 25, 33.

Philippi (*Mac14*). According to Robert, a penalty of 100,000 denarii suggests a late 3rd or early 4th century CE date for the inscription.¹⁹⁹ This sum results from the high rate of inflation in the Roman Empire at that time.²⁰⁰ In a Jewish epitaph from Philippi dated to the same period the penalty sum is even higher: 1,000,000 denarii!

The term ἁγιοτάτη συναγωγή occurs in the donor inscriptions from the synagogues of Philadelphia in Lydia,²⁰¹ Hyllarima in Phrygia,²⁰² Side in Pamphylia,²⁰³ and in a Jewish epitaph from Beroea (*Mac9*). The Latin equivalent *sancta synagoga* occurs in the mosaic inscription from the synagogue at Hammam-Lif (Naro).²⁰⁴ Koukouli-Chrysantaki notes that when used in Jewish epitaphs the adjective ἁγιοτάτη corresponds to ἱερώτατον in ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον used in non-Jewish inscriptions where ταμεῖον refers to the imperial treasury.²⁰⁵

Lifshitz dates the inscription to the end of 3rd or beginning of 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds, which agrees with Robert's view about the size of the fine.

Almyros

Almyros succeeded Nea Anchialos as the main port of Thessaly after the destruction of the latter in the 7th century. The site of the ancient town is near modern Tsengeli in Thessaly.

¹⁹⁸ Parrot 1939, 109–24, 137; Strubbe 1994, 106–27, nos.1, 8–9, 14.

¹⁹⁹ Robert 1958, 43–4 n.4.

²⁰⁰ Pekáry 1959, 460–3; Jones 1974, 194–200; Nigdelis 1994, 299.

²⁰¹ Lifshitz 1969, 31 no.28.

²⁰² Lifshitz 1969, 34 no.32.

²⁰³ Lifshitz 1969, 37 no.36.

²⁰⁴ Brooten 1982, 128–9.

²⁰⁵ Koukouli-Chrysantaki 1998, 32; Parrot 1939, 113.

Ach24. Epitaph of Judas and Asteria (Pl. XX, fig. 1)

Editions: Giannopoulos 1912, 155–7 no.22; Reinach 1914, 108; Giannopoulos 1930, 258–9 no.2; CIJ i 1936, no.695; Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 103.

Illustrations: Giannopoulos 1912 & 1930 (facsimile).

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Feissel & Avraméa 1987, 387 no.6.

Found at Almyros. Now: Almyros, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Fragment of greyish marble stele, broken in the middle and top right corner, 25 x 18 x 5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–7th century CE(?).

Text (follows Giannopoulos' facsimile):

μνημίων Ἰού-
δα καὶ Ἀστερί-
ας.
(*menorah*)

Memorial of Judas and Asteria.

Giannopoulos discovered the inscription in 1912 built in the house of Pericles Kanaris in the western part of Almyros. The term μνημίων (or μνήμα) with the meaning of a grave monument or a tomb occurs on another five Jewish inscriptions from Phthiotic Thebes (*Ach16-18, 20, 22*). Ἰούδα is the usual genitive form of the nominative Ἰούδας (the Greek form of the Hebrew name Judah) and is well documented in inscriptions and papyri from Palestine and the Diaspora. The name occurs on inscriptions from Egypt,²⁰⁶ Cyrenaica,²⁰⁷ Rome,²⁰⁸ Civitavecchia, Capua, Sofiana, Capoterra, Sant' Antioco and Tortosa.²⁰⁹ Ἰούδα also occurs in a papyrus from Arsinoë, and Ἰούδας is found in papyri from Philadelphia, Trikomia and Phelphas and in an ostrakon from Edfu.²¹⁰ Ἰούδα is the preferred form used in the LXX, by Philo²¹¹, Josephus²¹², and in the New Testament.²¹³ The name Asteria

²⁰⁶ JIGRE 54, 131.

²⁰⁷ CJZC 7b-c, 45f, 54b, 59c, 62a, app.13c.

²⁰⁸ JWE ii 41, 80, 124, 152, 186, 231, 262, 298, 444.

²⁰⁹ JWE i 11, 20, 158–9, 169, 173, 183.

²¹⁰ CPJ 466; 43.3; 24.10, 16–17, 20; 501.2; 235.1.

²¹¹ *Leg. Alleg.* ii, 96, 6; iii, 26, 4; 74, 4; 146, 2; *De somniis* ii, 45, 1.

²¹² *AJ* 12.392.

²¹³ Mk 6.3; Lk 3.30; Acts 9.11.

(Ἀστερίας), a Graecized form of the Hebrew name Esther, is not uncommon on Jewish monuments. An early occurrence of the name, in the Latin form Aster, is found in a 1st century CE epitaph from Naples.²¹⁴ The Graecized forms Ἀστήρ and Ἀσθήρ are found at Beth She‘arim²¹⁵ and Caesarea in Palestine.²¹⁶ Although this is a female name, note Ἀστερίω and Ἀστέρις borne by father and a son in an epitaph from Rome (3rd–4th century).²¹⁷ Ἀστήρ, Ἀσθήρ, Ἀστερία, Ἀσστερίας occur in inscriptions from Rome²¹⁸ and Venosa.²¹⁹ The latinized form *Aster* occurs at Taranto and Bordeaux,²²⁰ and *Asteri* at Rome.²²¹

Giannopoulos suggests a 5th and 7th century date for the inscription without explaining it.

Pherai (Velestino)

Velestino, ancient Pherai, is on the road between Volos and Larissa and 16 km. north-west of Volos. Pherai was an important trade and economic centre in Thessaly due to its favourable location on the main roads connecting Demetrias with Larissa and Phthiotic Thebes with Pharsalus. There is no evidence about the town from the Late Roman and Byzantine periods and the site was probably abandoned.²²² The new town, Velestino, is mentioned for the first time in 1208.²²³

²¹⁴ JIWE i 26.

²¹⁵ BS ii 147, 176.

²¹⁶ Lifshitz 1961, 115–16 no.2.

²¹⁷ JIWE ii 351.

²¹⁸ JIWE ii 91, 209, 304, 351, 552, 596.

²¹⁹ JIWE i 47.

²²⁰ JIWE i 130, 192.

²²¹ JIWE ii 140, 278.

²²² TIB i 1976: 133–134.

²²³ *Acta Innoc.* (PL 215, 1466.151; PL 216, 911.115). Cf. Stählin 1924, 104–8.

Ach25. Epitaph of Arescusa

Editions: Béquignon 1937, 90 no.60; McDevitt 1970, 39 no.261; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.708d.

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 104; Robert 1960, 260; Revised Schürer iii.1, 1986, p. 66.

Found at Pherai (Velesino). Now: Volos, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.658.

Details: White marble stele, 119 x 38.5 x 7.5 cm.

Letters: 2.5 cm. Space between lines: 1.1 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-4th century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i²):

Ἀρέσκουσα Διομήδους
γυνὴ Δέ[κ]μου λαῶι χαίρειν.

Arescusa (daughter) of Diomedes, wife of Decimus. Farewell to (the) people.

Béquignon discovered this inscription in Velesino. It is considered Jewish because of the salutation λαῶι χαίρειν and may well have originated from Larissa where the same formula was widely used by the local Jewish community (*Ach14*, 8-14; see discussion at *Ach1*). It is worth noting the slightly different spelling here, λαῶι with *iota* adscript. The names Arescusa and Diomedes are otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri. Δέκμος is short for Δέκιμος, the Greek form of the Roman name Decimus. The name occurs in Berenice, Cyrenaica.²²⁴ Ἀρέσκουσα is attested in a non-Jewish epitaph from the territory of Byzantion.²²⁵

²²⁴ CJZC 70, l.22.

²²⁵ IK 58.131

Chapter 6

Section 2

ACHAEA: Central Greece and Attica*Athens*

In 229 BCE Athens regained its autonomy, which lasted for almost century and a half. In 86 BCE, however, it was sacked by Sulla after siding with Mithridates VI in his war against Rome. Hadrian made Athens the capital of the Panhellenion in 131/2 CE. The city fortifications were repaired in the late 3rd century, but this did not prevent the Heruli from sacking the city in 267 CE. During the 4th and 5th centuries CE Athens flourished and was famous with its philosophical schools. St Basil the Great is known to have been educated in Athens.

The literary sources concerning the presence of Jews in the city are somewhat meagre. Philo lists Athens among the cities with a Jewish colony and Josephus quotes a decree, dated 106-5 BCE, of the people of Athens honouring Hyrcanus I for his benefactions.¹ It is difficult, however, to ascertain the historical validity of this evidence. According to Acts 17.17, Paul visited the Jewish synagogue in the city, which was also frequented by God-fearers.

The archaeological evidence for the presence of Jews in Athens, other than the inscriptions below, is very limited. A small wall revetment of Pentellic marble (8.5 x 8 x 1.0-1.3 cm) includes the image of a menorah flanked by a lulab and, probably, a shofar (Pl. XXX, fig. 4).² The revetment was recovered in 1977 from a

¹ Legat. 281; AJ 14.149-155.

² Kraabel 1979, 505-7, pl. I.

tray of postherds originally found in 1933 by Homer A. Thompson. The marble and pottery fragments were found a few metres from the north-east corner of the Metroon in the Agora. According to Thompson, as cited by Kraabel, 'the plaque represented by this fargment apparently came from a curvilinear frieze, conceivably from an arcuated or niche'.³ Thompson suggests the plaque came from a building built after the sacking of Athens by the Heruli in 267 CE and severly damaged during the Visigothic attack on Athens in 396 CE. Thompson, followed by Kraabel, also suggests that Metroon, built in the 2nd century BCE, may have been used as synagogue mainly because of its basilical plan.⁴ However, this seems very unlikely. The orientation of the building, with its apse is on its west wall instead of towards Jerusalem, and the lack of any additional archaeological data concerning the building history of the Metroon do not to support his view.

Urdahl has identified several Athenian epitaphs as Jewish only because the persons mentioned in them bore Semitic names or were natives from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.⁵ However, as Robert has shown their Jewishness can not be established solely on the occurrence of Semitic (rather than Jewish) names or ethnics.⁶ Two 4th/3rd century BCE epitaphs from Athens mention the name Parigoris, a female form of Parigorius, which was frequently used by Jews.⁷ However, it is difficult to assume that the persons mentioned in these epitaphs were Jews only by their names.

³ Kraabel 1979, 505.

⁴ Kraabel 1979, 506-7.

⁵ Urdahl 1968, 45-49 nos. i, iii, vii, ix; 7-8 (=IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940 nos. 9285; 10127; 10687; 10944).

⁶ BE 1969, no. 206

⁷ IG ii² 6449; 12369.

Ach26. Epitaph of Ammia (Pl. XX, figs. 2-3)

Editions: IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.8934; Robert 1946, 101; Urdahl 1959, 71 no.5; Urdahl 1968, 45 no.5; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.715a.

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.206; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Traill 1994, ii 80 no. 123890; Williams 1998, no.I.35 (English tr.).

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 1079.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble, 55.5 x 16.1; 56 x 17 cm (IG ii/iii² 3.2). Letters 3.2-4 cm., all with serifs. Distance between lines: 2 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975 and personal inspection):

Ἀμμία
Ἱεροσολυμίτις.

Ammia of Jerusalem.

The name Ammia (Ἀμμία) occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Sicily and Rome.⁸

The name, however, was also very popular among non-Jews and is well attested in the Roman provinces of Asia and Sicily.⁹ The identification of the inscription as Jewish is based on the place of origin of the deceased woman: Jerusalem. Kirchner in IG dates the inscription to the 1st century CE on palaeographic grounds, and it seems unlikely that anyone other than a Jew would have been described as a 'Jerusalemite' at that date. There is a Latin inscription from Naples for a woman described as *Hierosolymitana* who was apparently taken prisoner in 70 CE.¹⁰ Ammia's background could be similar, but she may have been a voluntary immigrant earlier in the century.

Ach27. Epitaph of Benjamin (Pl. XXI, figs 1-2)

Editions: IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.10949; Robert 1946, 110; Schwabe 1950, 112-23; Pfohl 1953, p.93, 222, no.3e; BE 1955, no.88; Mitsos 1956 [1959], 33 no.2; SEG xiv 1957, no.241; BE 1955, no.211; Urdahl 1959, 73 no.11; SEG xvi 1959, no.219; Lifshitz 1963, 257-8; Urdahl 1968, 46 no.11; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.715b; Levinskaya 1996b.

Illustrations: Schwabe 1950, 123 (photo); Mitsos 1956, fig.2 (photo); Lifshitz 1963, pl.13a (photo).

⁸ JIWE i 156; ii 183, 584.

⁹ Zgusta 1964, 59-62; JIWE i 156.

¹⁰ JIWE i 26.

Other bibliography: Schwabe 1947/9, 110; Mitsos 1954, 119; BE 1964, no.164; BE 1969, no.206; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; van der Horst 1991, 96-7; Traill 1995, iv 170 no. 264830; Levinskaya 1996, 158-62; Williams 1998, no. II.85 (English tr.)

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv.no.EM 1226.
Details: Fragment of *kioniskos* of Pentelic marble, broken above and below, face mutilated, 21.2 x 12.3 cm; 20 x 13 cm (IG ii/iii² 3.2).
Letters: c.1.7 cm. The text of l.1 runs all around the stone's circumference.
Language: Greek. Date: 2nd-3rd century CE(?).
Text (follows CIJ i² 1975 and personal inspection):

Βενιαμῆς πρόσχολος
Λαχάρους
(*menorah*) (*lulab*) (*ethrog*)

1. IG, Robert, Schwabe 1947/9: Βενιδάης

Benjamin [Beniames] (son) of Lachares, proscholos.

Klaffenbach (in IG), Schwabe and Robert suggested that Benjamin was the *proscholos* of Lachares. However, Lifshitz's suggestion that the stone-cutter arranged the inscription in two columns because of the form of the *kioniskos* and the available space seems more plausible, meaning that the two names should be read before the title, which is on the opposite side. The inscription follows a practice evidenced in Athenian inscriptions first to place the name of the deceased in the nominative then the patronymic in the genitive, then the *ethnicon* or the profession of the deceased person. The menorah is depicted with small lamps on each branch.

The office of πρόσχολος is difficult to explain. *LSJ* translates it as 'assistant schoolmaster', referring to the Latin equivalent *subdoctor* used by Ausonius and Augustine.¹¹ Schwabe (1950, 16-17) suggests that it indicates there was a school for Jewish children in Athens. Robert and van der Horst propose that Benjamin was the head of a Jewish school. However, Levinskaya notes that πρόσχολος

¹¹ *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium* 22; Ser.178c, 7-8 (PL 38, 964).

could also mean a 'doorkeeper' and should be distinguished from *subdoctor*. The deceased could even have been a doorkeeper for a pagan grammarian in Athens.¹² Robert also notes that πρόσχολος occurs as a personal name in a list of ephebes from Athens: Πρόσχολος Σωσιπάτρου.¹³ However, use as a name seems unlikely here.

On the name Βενιαμής cf. *Mac16*. According to Dow the name Lachares is most probably of Attic origin.¹⁴ It is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri.

Klaffenbach (in IG) dates the inscription to the end of the 2nd or the 3rd century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Ach28. Epitaph of Eutychia (Pl. XXI, fig. 3)

Editions: CIG iv 1856/9, no.9313; Kekule 1869, 132 no.324 [not seen]; Koumanoudes 1871, no.3563; Bayet 1878a, 167–8 no.65; Bayet 1878b, 122–3 no.121; IG iii.2 1895, no.3545; Roberts & Gardner 1905, 513 no.388; Oehler 1909, 443; CIJ i 1936, no.712; Urdahl 1968, 42 n.42; Sironen 1997, 239–40 no.199.

Illustrations: Bayet 1878a, pl.III, fig.4; Bayet 1878b, pl.V, fig.4.

Other bibliography: Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 61; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Traill 1994, i 174 no. 110142; Traill 1998, vii 478, no. 446835; Traill 2000, ix 177 no. 508455.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 9927.

Details: Stele of Pentelic marble, with inscribed triangular *aetoma* with a rosette, broken below, 26 x 24.4 x 4.3–5.0 cm; 26.2 x 24.3 x 4.3 – 5.0 cm (Sironen). Letters: 1.5–2 cm; 1.1–2.2 cm (Sironen). Distance between lines: 1 cm. Guideline beneath each line of the inscription.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th–5th century CE(?).

Text (follows Sironen 1997 and personal inspection):

(menorah) (rosette) (menorah)

κοιμητήριον
Εὐ^{vac}τυχίας τῆς
μητρὸς Ἀθη-
νέου καὶ Θεο(ν)-
κτίστον.

5

¹² Levinskaya 1996a, 161–2.

¹³ IG ii² 2130, l.141.

¹⁴ Dow 1957, 106–7.

2. the τ is smaller than the other letters in τῆς
 2. Koumanoudes: Εὐτυχί(α)ς; CIG IV: Εὐτυχ[ι]ᾶς
 3-4. Roberts & Gardner: Ἀθηνέου κὲ = Ἀθηνάϊου καί

Resting-place of Eutychia, the mother of Athenaeus and Theoctistus.

According to Kirchoff in CIG, Fourmont found the inscription built in above the main gate of the church of the Holy Mother of God in Athens. The menorahs, the right is 6.5 cm high and the left is 4.8 cm high, are inscribed at the corners of a triangular aetoma, which has a rosette in the centre.

The description of the tomb as κοιμητήριον was used almost exclusively by Christians, and occurs only once in a Jewish inscriptions outside Athens (Phitiotic Thebes, *Ach21*; see also *Ach29-30*). Creaghan & Raubitschek plausibly suggest that its occurrence on Jewish monuments was due to Christian influence.¹⁵

On the name Eutychia cf. *Ach21*, q.v. Athenaeus is not found in Jewish use elsewhere, but the name Ἀθηνίων occurs in an epitaph from Rome.¹⁶ Theoctistus is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri. The spelling Θεονκτίστος is a result of converse insertion of the medial nasal -v, which according to Gignac indicates a corresponding loss of nasals in speech in the late Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁷

Sironen dates the inscription to the 4th or the 5th century CE on palaeographic grounds, and the apparent Christian influence supports this.

Ach29. Epitaph (Pl. XXI, fig. 4)

Editions: Koumanoudes 1871, no.*3613; Bayet 1878b, 98 no.73; IG iii.2 1895, no.3496; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.715h.

Other bibliography: Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 18 n.101; Urdahl 1959, 74 no.11; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65.

Found at Athens. Now: Epigraphic museum, inv. no. EM 9918.

¹⁵ Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 6.

¹⁶ JWE ii 350 (3rd–4th century?).

¹⁷ Gignac 1976, ii 118-9.

Details: Fragment of a marble plaque, 6.5 x 9.5 x 2.9; 15 x 10 cm (Bayet 1878b; IG iii.2).

Letters: 2.2-2.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century or later.

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975 and personal inspection):

(*shofar?*) (*menorah*) (*ethrog?*)

κυμη[τήρ-]

ιογ [- - -]

θ[- - - -]

1-2. 1. κοιμητήριον

Resting-place ...

Discovered on the Acropolis. On the use of the term κοιμητήριον, see *Ach21*. Koumanoudes, the first publisher of the inscription, reports a cross above 1.1, but after examining the stone Creaghan & Raubitschek noted there are traces of the base of a menorah above the inscription.¹⁸ Apparently, Koumanoudes took the menorah's base for a cross. Therefore, it is preferable to recognise the Jewish provenance of the inscription, and the partly-pereserved symbols on either side of the *menorah* can be assumed to be other Jewish ones; cf. *Ach30*. The terminology and the symbols are unlikely to be earlier than the 3rd century.

Ach30. Epitaph of Theodula and Moses(?) (Pl. XXII, fig.1)

Editions: Koumanoudes 1871, no. *3569; Bayet 1878a, 168 no.66; Bayet 1878b, 123 no.122; IG iii.2 1895, no.3546; Roberts & Gardner 1905, 513 no.389; CIJ i 1936, no. 713; Urdahl 1968, 42 no.12; Sironen 1997, 284 no.255.

Illustrations: Bayet 1878a, pl.III fig.3 (squeeze); Bayet 1878b, pl.V fig.3 (squeeze); Archimandrite Antonin 1886, pl.VII (squeeze) [*not seen*].

Other bibliography: Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 18; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 61; Derda 1997, 258; Williams 1997, 274; Derda 1999, 210.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 9887.

Details: Marble stele of Pentelic(?) marble with a dark vertical vein, broken below and above and chipped near the edges, 28.7 x 13.1 x 7.8; 30 x 13.3 x 7.8 cm (Sironen).

Letters: 1.5-2.7 cm; 1.4-3 cm (Sironen). Distance between lines: 1.1-1.7 cm; 0.3-2 cm (Sironen).

Language: Greek. Date: 5th-6th century CE(?).

¹⁸ Creaghan and Raubitschek 1947, 18.

Text (follows Sironen 1997 and personal inspection):

(*shofar*) (*menorah*) (*lulab*)

κυμητή-
ριον Θε-
οδούλα[ς]
καὶ Μωσ-
[έως? - -]
[- - - -]

5

3. *omicron* smaller than the other letters

4. Δ written as d on the stone

1-2. 1. κοιμητήριον

1-4. Derda: Κ<οι>μητήριον Θεοδούλα <καὶ> Καίμως or Κ<οι>μητήριον Θεοδούλα, Καίμως

Resting-place of Theodula and Moses(?)

According to Koumanoudes the inscription was found on the Acropolis. Its Jewish nature is clear from the symbols. The objects which flank the *menorah* are a shofar and a lulab, not two palms boughs as shown on Frey's illustration, or a vine leaf and a palm bough as suggested by Sironen. The height of the *menorah* is 9 cm and its base is a tripod.

On the use of the term κοιμητήριον, see *Ach21*. The name of the first deceased, Theodula, is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri, but was a common Christian name. Jews are almost never described as 'slave of God' in epitaphs and it is possible that the name is another, apart from the use of the term κοιμητήριον, example of Christian influence.

Bayet was the first to restore the name Moses in ll. 4-5 and his suggestion was adopted in all editions of the inscription. Derda, however, recently challenged the restoration of the name Moses (Μωσῆς) in ll.4-5, suggesting that l.4 should be read as a single name, Καίμως (=Καίμος, the Hebrew name כּוֹמ).¹⁹ He further suggests that the names Θεοδούλα and Καίμως were given in the nominative not

¹⁹ Wutnow 1930, 64.

in the genitive with haplography in 1.4 leading to the omission of καί (=and).²⁰ This is unlikely as in most similar epitaphs the names of the deceased are usually given in the genitive, and the name Kaimos is not found elsewhere, as pointed out by Williams. However, the name Moses occurs extremely rarely in Jewish epitaphs.²¹ A possible solution is to suggest that in this case we have a substitution of *omicron* with *omega*, often found on inscriptions, and read the name as the genitive of Μοσχίων or Μόσχος. Both names were very popular at Athens, and Μόσχος is borne by a Jewish slave in a manumission from the Amphiarion in Oropus (*Ach*45). Despite Derda's objections, however, the reading of the name as Μωσῆς is also possible.²²

Sironen dates the inscription to the 5th or 6th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Ach31. Epitaph of Matthaia

Editions: Koumanoudes 1871, no.*1544; IG iii.2 1895, no.2946; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.8231; Urdahl 1959, 70 no.2; Urdahl 1968, 44 no.2; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.715d.

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.206; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 44-5; Williams 1998, no.I.38 (English tr.).

Found at Athens. Now lost.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble. No measurements published.

Language: Greek. Date: Roman period(?).

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

Μαθθαία
Ἀντιόχ[ου]
χα[ίρει.]

2. Koumanoudes, IG ii/iii²: Ἀντιόχ[ισσα?]

Matthaia (daughter) of Antiochus [or of Antioch], farewell.

²⁰ Derda 1997, 257 n.7.

²¹ Derda 1997, 257; Williams 1997, 274; Le Bohec 1981, 172, no. 1.

²² Pape & Benseler 1911, 969; LGPN ii, 324.

This inscription was discovered in the theatre of Dionysus in Athens. It is dated to the 'Roman period' by Kirchner in IG, but there are no grounds for anything more precise.

Its possible Jewishness rests on the name, which Lifshitz notes is a feminine form of Matathyahu. It is attested in another inscription from Athens, where it is borne by an immigrant (*Ach32*), but is otherwise unknown. The form Μαθαῖς is attested at Beth She'arim,²³ Mathius (Μαθίου) occurs at Rome (3rd–4th century CE),²⁴ and Wuthnow lists the forms Μαθα and Μαθαιος.²⁵

1.2. This could contain a patronymic, or, less probably, an ethnic although there are more than fifty occurrences of the ethnic Ἀντιοχίσσα in inscriptions from Athens.²⁶

Ach32. Epitaph of Matthaia (Pl. XXII, fig. 2)

Editions: IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.8358; Urdahl 1959, 71 no.4; Urdahl 1968, 44 no.4; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.715f; Roth-Gerson 2001, 139-40 no.XIV.

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.206; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Williams 1998, no.I.39 (English tr.); Osborne & Byrne 1996, 48, no. 1181.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 12000.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble, c.97 x 38 (diameter) cm.

Letters: c.3.8 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century CE(?).

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975 and photo and squeeze in Museum):

Μαθαία	
Φίλωνος	
Ἀραδία	
Σωκράτου	
Σιδωνίου	5
γυνή.	

Matthaia (daughter) of Philo, from Arad, wife of Socrates from Sidon.

²³ BS ii, 30 no.48.

²⁴ JIWE ii, 338.

²⁵ Wuthnow 1930, 68.

²⁶ Osborne & Byrne 1996, 25-45.

Jewishness is suggested by the deceased woman's name; see *Ach31*. It is not clear if she was a native of Arad on the island of Awad, a city of northern Phoenicia,²⁷ or the village of Arad in Palestine.²⁸ The latter would confirm her Jewishness. However, in view of Matthaia's Sidonian husband, it is much more likely that she was a native of Phoenician Arad. Other natives of Arad are attested in epitaphs from Athens²⁹ and Piraeus³⁰ and in an ephebic list from Athens.³¹

Kirchner in IG dates the inscription to the 1st century CE on palaeographic grounds. The letters are similar in shape to *Ach35*, but clearly the work of different stone-cutters.

Ach33. Epitaph of Simon/Simeon (Pl. XXII, fig. 3)

Editions: IG ii.3 1888, no.4120; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.12609; Robert 1946, 101; Mitsos 1956 [1959], 32–3; Urdahl 1958, 74 no.12; BE 1958, no. 211; SEG xvi 1959, no.228; Urdahl 1968, 46 no.12; CIJ i² 1975, no.715c.

Illustration: Mitsos 1956, fig.11 (photo).

Other bibliography: Mitsos 1949/50, 32; BE 1955, no.89; BE 1969, no.206; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Traill 1994, ii 119 no. 126640.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 9440.

Details: Rectangular stele of Hymettian marble, broken below, back roughly tooled, 22.7 x 27.2 x 4.7 cm; 21 x 27 cm (Mitsos).

Letters: 2–2.8 cm; c.2.4 cm (Mitsos).

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd century BCE(?).

Text (follows personal inspection):

Σῖμ^{vac.} υ
Ἀνανίου.

1. Σῖμ[ο]υ, Σῖμ[ω]υ or Σῖμ[εώ]υ

Simon/Simeon, (son) of Ananias.

There is a large lacuna between ΣΙΜ and Ν on the stone, which was never inscribed. The size of the lacuna and the arrangement of the letters make the

²⁷ Cf. the *ethnicon* Ἀραδία in Stephen of Byzantium, ed. Meineke 1849, p.108.

²⁸ Avi-Yonah 2002, 163.

²⁹ Dated 3rd–4th century CE. IG ii² 8358a (p. 883).

³⁰ Dated 1st–2nd century CE. IG ii/iii² 8357.

³¹ Dated 102/1 BCE. IG ii² 1028.

reconstruction, proposed by Mitsos, of the name as Συμ[εώ]ν very probable. Mitsos, however, did not consider the name Jewish. Kirchner in IG, Robert and Lifshitz in CIJ i² regard the inscription as Jewish because of the name of the father. Robert notes that the name Ananias (Ἀνανίας) was used frequently, if not exclusively, by Jews; Christians avoided it because of the negative associations of Ananias in the NT, especially Acts 5. It is rarely attested in inscriptions, but occurs in epitaphs from Gaza³² and Cyprus.³³ The name Simon (Σίμων) was popular among Jews in Cyrenaica³⁴ and occurs also at Rome (3rd-4th century CE)³⁵ and Jaffa (5th century CE).³⁶ Simeon is attested at Sardis (Συμεόνιος)³⁷ and Aphrodisias.³⁸

Kirchner dates the inscription to the 2nd century BCE on palaeographic grounds.

Ach34. Epitaph of Jacob and Leontius (Pl. XXIII, fig. 1)

Editions: Pittakes 1839, 229 no.271; Koumanoudes 1871, no.*3573; CIG iv 1856/9, no.9900; Bayet 1878a, 168 no.67; Bayet 1878b, 124 no.123; IG iii.2 1895, no.3547; Oehler 1909, 443 no.110; CIJ i 1936, no.715; Urdahl 1968, 42 no.12; Sironen 1997, 244 no.205.

Illustrations: Bayet 1878a, pl.III fig.6 (squeeze); Bayet 1878b, pl.V fig.6 (squeeze); IG iii.2, no.3547 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 61; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Traill 2000, ix 381-2, nos. 530337-8; Williams 1998, no. I.37 (English tr.); Traill 2000, ix 381-2, nos. 530337-8; Traill 2002, xi 64, no. 603210.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. nos. EM 9949 and EM 9950.

Details: Blue and grey marble plaque, broken in the middle and on all sides except the right; back roughly tooled. Measures: 34 x 30.5 x 3.5-5.0 cm.

Letters: 1.7-4.5 cm.; space between lines up to 2 cm. Guideline beneath l. 4. Letters with serifs.

Language: Greek. Date: 6th century CE(?).

Text (follows Sironen 1997 and personal inspection):

³² Lifshitz 1967, no.73.

³³ Lifshitz 1967, no. 85.

³⁴ CJZC 7a, b-c; 10; 11; 13b, d; 14a; 61a; 67b; 68; 70.

³⁵ JWE ii 52, 310.

³⁶ JIGRE 147.

³⁷ Kroll 2001, 42-3 no.67.

³⁸ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1986, 6, face b, l.33; 104, no.63.

[Ἰακ]ῶβ καὶ Λε-
 [όντ]ιος ἔγγο-
 [νο]ι [Ἰ]ακῶβο-
 [υ τοῦ] Κεσαρέως.

1. Pittakes: [Ἰακ]ῶβου καὶ Λε[υκ]ῆς]
2. Pittakes: [...]τίος ἔγγο[νος]
3. Pittakes: [Λευκ]ῆ Ἰακῶβο
4. Pittakes: υ Καισαρέως

Jacob and Leontius, grandsons of Jacob of Caesarea.

The text is inscribed carelessly, with the letters badly aligned.³⁹ Ἰακῶβ in l. 1 is indeclinable and does not have a case ending. This agrees with the observation of Gignac that most Semitic names are indeclinable although some of them have alternate forms that fit into the Greek declensions types.⁴⁰ Thus, Ἰακῶβου in ll. 3-4, which, most likely, is a gen sing. of Ἰακῶβος.⁴¹ It is interesting that the name Λεόντιος is given also in the nominative. On the name Leontius cf. *Achl*.

It is not clear which Caesarea is referred to in the inscription – it could also be Caesarea in Mauretania or one of many cities with the same name in Asia Minor. Jews from Caesarea in Palestine are otherwise not evidenced epigraphically in the Balkans.

Sironen dates the inscription to the 6th century on palaeographic grounds.

Ach35. Epitaph of Ammia (Pl. XXIII, figs. 2-3)

Editions: CIG i 1828, no.889; Pittakes 1854, 1181-2 no.2291; C. Bursian, *BICA* 1855, p.XXX no.6 [*not seen*]; A. Salzmann, *BAMusParent* 1 1867, 29 n.1 [*not seen*]; Koumanoudes 1871, no.*2351; IG iii.2 1895, no.2891; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.10219.

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.369; Bruneau 1982, 479; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; van der Horst 1988, 142 (=1990, 145); Traill 1994, ii 80 no. 123900; Traill 1998, iv 440 no. 444520.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 12175. Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymetian marble, 106 x 35 cm.

³⁹ Sironen 1994, no.205.

⁴⁰ Gignac i 1976, 223; ii 1976, 104.

⁴¹ Gignac i 1976, 223.

Letters: 3.7-3.9 cm; c.3.4 cm (IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940), distance between lines 1.4-1.9 cm, all letters with serifs.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century CE(?).

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940 and photograph in Museum):

Ἀμμία	
Φίλωνος	
Σαμαρεῖτις	
Εὐρήμονος	
Ἀντιοχέως	5
γυνή.	

4. There is space between Εὐ and ρήμονος in Pittakes' copy

5. There is space between Ἀν and τιοχέως in Pittakes' copy

Ammia (daughter) of Philo, a Samaritan, wife of Euremon of Antioch.

According to Pittakes the inscription was discovered on 2nd November 1830, not far from the Theseion. The name Ammia occurs in *Ach*26. The name Euremon is otherwise unattested on Samaritan or Jewish inscriptions and papyri. Euremon is fairly well attested name in Athens and Delos.⁴² It is not clear whether Ammia was a Samaritan by religion or a native from Samaria; cf. *Dal*4.

Kirchner in IG dates the inscription to the 1st century CE on palaeographic grounds. The father of the deceased is called Philo as in *Ach*32, but presumably this is coincidence in view of the different ethnics.

Ach36. Epitaph of Theodora (Pl. XXIII, fig. 4)

Editions: Rhousopoulos 1862\3, 255–6 no.223; Koumanoudes 1871, no.*2352; IG iii.2 1895, no.2892; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.10220.

Illustrations: Rhousopoulos 1862, pl.36.2 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.369; Bruneau 1982, 479; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; van der Horst 1988, 142 (=1990, 145); Osborne & Byrne 1996, 278 no. 6523; Traill 2000, ix 75, 126, nos. 502865, 505775.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv.no. EM 11368.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble, 53 x 17.8 cm; 54 x 18 cm (IG ii/iii² 3.2). Letters: 2.8 cm; 2.2 cm (IG ii/iii² 3.2). All letters with serifs.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century CE(?)

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940 and photograph in Museum):

⁴² Traill iv 1998, 439-40.

Θεοδ<ω>ρα
 Θεμίσωνος
 Σαμαρῖτις.

1. ΘΕΟΔΡΑ on the stone

Theodora (daughter) of Themison, a Samaritan.

The stone was found close to Mt Lycabettus in 1862. On the name Theodora cf. *Ach16*. Themison is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri, but it is a common Greek name. As with *Ach35* it is not clear whether Theodora was a Samaritan by religion or a native from Samaria.

Kirchner dates the inscription to the 1st century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Ach36bis. Epitaph?

Unpublished. The inscription will be published by Jonathan Price, and details are included here with his permission.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Agora Museum, inv. no. I 6852

Details: Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble, broken above, below, at left and behind; right side preserved with flutting just behind the corner, 14.2 (right)-15 (middle)-15.3 (left) x 9.5 x 4.5 cm. (3.1 cm without the flute); 15 x 9.5 x 4 cm (Agora Museum).

Letters: Greek, 1.2 cm (ω); 1.8 cm (B,N); Hebrew, 2.2 cm (שׁ); 3.4 cm (ל); 2.3 cm (מ); 1.8 cm (Agora Museum). Distance between lines: 2.6 cm (between N & ל); 3.3 cm (between ω & מ). All Greek letters with serifs.

Language: Greek, Hebrew. Date: 4th century CE or later.

Text (follows personal inspection):

[---]ων β+[---]
 [---]+שלמ

There are traces of letters after B, probably P; after מ and possibly between ω & מ.

Discovered on 20th April 1959 built in a late wall (perhaps house), no. V19, section EA 28 of the Agora excavations (the lower north slopes of the Acropolis). The Hebrew letters in the 1. 2 of the inscription are most probably part of a personal name

like שלמיה (Shlamiah; Jerem. 37.3) or שלמציון.⁴³ It could be the acclamation על שלום (or just שלום) which was often added to otherwise Greek or Latin inscriptions, but the spelling without *waw* would be unusual. This is the fourth inscription in Greek and Hebrew from the Balkans – other bilingual inscriptions are evidenced in Dalmatia (*Dal5*), Thessaloniki (*Mac19*), and Corinth (*Ach49*).

The use of Hebrew suggests a date for the inscription not earlier than the 4th century CE, but it could also be substantially later.⁴⁴

Ach37. Epitaph of a Samaritan

Editions: Koumanoudes 1871, no.*2353; IG ii.3 1895, no.3297; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.10221; BE 1969, no.369; Bruneau 1978, 479; van der Horst 1988, 142 (=1990, 145).

Other bibliography: Osborne & Byrne 1996, 278, no. 6524.

Found at Athens. Now lost.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble. No measurements published.

Language: Greek. Date: end of 4th century – 3rd century BCE(?).

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940):

Θρασ[- - - -]
Ἑκατ[- - - -]
Σαμαρ[ίτ - - -]

2. Ἑκατ[αῖος?]

3. Σαμαρ[ίτις] or Σαμαρ[ίτης]; Koumanoudes: Σαμα I

Thras.... (son/daughter?) of Hecat...., a Samaritan.

This inscription was discovered before 1870 at 40 Sophocles St. in Athens. The name in l. 1 could be one of the male or female names attested in Athens: Θράσων, Θράσυκλῆς, Θράσυλλος, Θρασύβουλος or Θρασίππη, Θρασυλλίς, Θρασυβούλη.

⁴³ Ilan 2002, 214-5.

⁴⁴ There is common opinion among scholars that from the 4th century CE the Jews living in the western parts of the Roman empire started to use Hebrew, together with or instead of Greek and Latin, in their daily life. Thus, the Hebrew inscriptions from the Western Roman empire are dated to the late 3rd-8th centuries CE (JIWE i & ii, s.v.). This could also be true for the eastern provinces (with the exception of Syria-Palaestina and Babylonia) of the Empire. For example, the first papyrological evidence for the use of Hebrew in upper Egypt is dated to the 4th-5th century CE and comes from Oxyrhynchus where we have fragments of official letters and devotional poems in Hebrew (*piyyutim*). Cf. Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 82-4; Noy 1999, 135-45.

The surviving letters in I.2 are probably a patronymic, and the father was probably called Ἐκαταῖος.⁴⁵ Ἐκαταῖος is attested nine times on non-Jewish or Samaritan inscriptions from Athens.⁴⁶

Kirchner dates the inscription to the end of the 4th century BCE on palaeographic grounds. This cannot be verified as no image of the inscription was published.

Ach38. Inscription from base of a statue of Herod the Great

Editions: Pittakes 1858, 1798 no.3442; IG iii.1 1878, no.550; OGIS i 1903, no.414; Nachmanson 1913, p. 62, no.68; IG ii/iii² 3.1 1935, no.3440; Ehrenberg & Jones 1955, no.178 (from OGIS and IG).

Other bibliography: Urdahl 1968, 53; Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988, 96, no. 1; Richardson 1996, 207–8 no.7.

Found at Athens. Now lost.

Details: Base of a statue made of Eleusinian marble, 36 x 70 x 50 cm.

Letters: 3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 37–27 BCE.

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.1 1935):

ὁ δῆμο[ς]
 βασιλέα Ἡρώδην φιλο-
 ρωμαῖον εὐεργεσίας
 ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς
 εἰς ἑαυτόν.

5

The people (honoured) King Herod, Friend of the Romans, for his good deeds and good will towards it.

According to Pittakes the inscription was found on 10 Nov. 1858 behind the Parthenon on the east part of the Acropolis. Kirchner (IG), however, gives the findspot as between the Propylon and the Erechtheion. The inscription is on the base of a statue, which apparently was placed on the Acropolis as a gift of gratitude by the Athenians to Herod the Great. Herod is known to have made

⁴⁵ Bechtel 1964, 527.

⁴⁶ LGPN ii, 139.

several donations to Athens.⁴⁷ Richardson notes that the placing of the statue on the Acropolis indicates that this particular honour was given in recognition of some sort of improvement in that location.⁴⁸ Herod's donation, and relation to the Athenians, is described with the terms εὐεργεσία (good deeds / benefactions) and εὐνοία (goodwill).

Richardson notes that the title φιλορωμαῖον corresponds to the Latin phrase *rex socius et amicus populi Romani* and indicates that Herod was a client king. The inscription is dated between 37 and 27 BCE according to the title ascribed to Herod; cf *Ach39* on his later nomenclature. It therefore belongs to the early part of his reign, when he was building up support outside his kingdom. Herod's benefactions were clearly aimed at the whole city, not the Jewish community, but the Jews of Athens may have benefited indirectly, especially if it was seen as compensation for the Temple Tax that was paid annually to Jerusalem.

Ach39. Inscription from a base of a statue of Herod the Great

Editions: Pittakes 1860, 1935 no.3768; IG iii.1 1878, no.551; OGIS i 1903, no.427; IG ii/iii² 3.1 1935, no.3441; Ehrenberg & Jones 1955, no.178 (from OGIS and IG).

Other bibliography: Urdahl 1968, 53; Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988, 96, no. 2; Richardson 1996, 207–8 no.7.

Found at Athens. Now lost.

Details: Base of a statue made of Hymettian marble, 23 x 77 x 40 cm.

Letters: 3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 27–4 BCE.

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.1 1935):

[ὁ δ]ῆμος
[βασι]λέα Ἡρώδην εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλοκαίσαρα
[ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας.

2. Pittakes: [Ἀρχιε]ρέα Θ. . . ν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλοκαί[σα]ρα]

The people (honoured) King Herod, Pious and Friend of Caesar for his kindness and good deeds.

⁴⁷ Josephus, *BJ* 1.425.

⁴⁸ Richardson 1996, 207 no.6.

Pittakes discovered this inscription on 5th March 1860 during excavations west of the Erechtheion. Dittenberger in OGIS suggests that it is a dedication to Agrippa I. However, Richardson notes that the location of the inscription and the title 'king' strongly suggest Herod the Great. The title φιλοκαίσαρος applied to Herod occurs also on an inscription from a limestone weight from Jerusalem (9–8 BCE).⁴⁹ The inscription is dated to 27–4 BCE by Herod's nomenclature.

Urdahl (1968, 53) suggests that another inscription from the Agora inscribed on the base of a statue is a similar dedication to Herod the Great. The inscription reads: [---]σεβῆ καὶ [----] ἔνεκα [----]ας. (Agora Museum, inv. no. I. 2658).⁵⁰ It is too fragmentary to allow any reliable reconstruction.

Piraeus

Ach40. Epitaph of Demetrius

Editions: Petrakos 1961/2, 36 no.8b; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.715i; Osborne 1988, 25, no. 125.

Other bibliography: BE, 1964, no.152; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 111, nos. 2620-1; Traill 1996, v 189, nos. 312964-5; Williams 1997, 261, no. 39.

Found at Piraeus. Now: Museum of Piraeus, inv. no. KMΠ 1193.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble, 43 x 19.5 cm.

Letters: 1–3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: uncertain.

Text (follows Petrakos 1961/2):

Δημήτριος
Δημητρίου
Εἰσοδαῖος.

3. Robert: Εἰσοδαῖος=Εἰσοδαῖος

3. 1. Ἰουδαῖος

Demetrius (son) of Demetrius, a Jew.

⁴⁹ *IEJ* 20, 1970, 97–8.

⁵⁰ *SEG* xii 150.

The inscription was discovered during roadworks near the church of St. Sophia (Ἀγία Σοφία) in Piraeus. The form of the ethnic Ἰουδαῖος, with an additional *epsilon* Εἰουδαῖος (here Εἰοδαῖος) is attested only once in a Jewish inscription – in an epitaph from Rome (3rd-4th century CE?).⁵¹ The name Demetrius occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica.⁵²

Ach41. Thiasos inscription with a Samaritan(?) (Pl. XXIV, fig. 1)

Editions: Koumanoudes 1879, 401–2 no.4; IG ii.3 1888 no.1334; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.2943.

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.369 (p.478); Crown 1974/5, 116; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; van der Horst 1988, 142 (=1990, 145); Osborne and Byrne 1996, 277, no. 6521; Traill 1998, vii 18, no. 400865.

Found at Piraeus. Now: Athens, National Museum, inv.no.8799.

Details: Stele of Pentelic marble, upper part missing. Measures: 94 x 40 x 8.5-9 cm; 96 x 40 x 8.5 cm (IG); 96 x 43 x 11 cm. (Koumanoudes). Names of members of *thiasos* (ll. 3-6) inscribed within laurel wreaths.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th or 3rd century BCE(?).

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 1940 and personal inspection):

[-----]όνιος Α
[-----]Ν

Νίκων
Νικοφώντος

Σύμμαχος
Δάτου

Λεπτίνης
Εὐπέρσ[ο]υ

Ἑργασίων
Σαμαρίτης.

5

[οἱ θιασῶ-]
τα[ι τὸ]ν ἐπ[ι]-
μελητὴν ἐ-
στεφάνωσαν Νί-
κωνα Νικοφώντ-
ος Ἑρμογένην
Ἑρμαφίλου γρα-
μματεῖα σ-
ω[φροσ]ύν-
ης οὐνεκα.

10

15

1. Koumanoudes: Ε ΝΟΙΣΑ

5. Koumanoudes: (Ἀ)γασίων

13. Koumanoudes: Ἑρμαφ ; ίδου

⁵¹ IJWE ii 489.

⁵² CJZC app. 20h; Δημητρία, 58c.

13–14. Koumanoudes: γραμματείας
 15 missing in Koumanoudes' edition.

.....*onius*

..... *Nicon (son) of Nicophon, Symmachus (son) of Dates, Leptines (son) of Euperses, Ergasion the Samaritan [or from Samaria?].*

The members of the thiasos presented with a crown the epimeletes Nicon (son) of Nicophon (and) Hermogenes (son) of Hermaphilus (the) in his secretaryship, for moderation.

This inscription was discovered in 1879 by members of the Greek Archaeological Society. The missing first two lines of the inscription could have contained details of the *thiasos* or additional names of members.

Ergasion (Ἐργασίων) is attested in eight non-Jewish inscriptions from Athens, but does not occur in Samaritan or Jewish inscriptions or papyri.⁵³ He may have been a Samaritan by religion or a pagan from Samaria (cf. *Ach*35-36). This is the only inscription from the Balkans referring to a Samaritan (or Jewish) member of a presumably pagan *thiasos*, although the Samaritan inscriptions from Delos (*Ach*66-7) suggest a Samaritan *thiasos* on the island.

Koumanoudes dates the inscription to the 4th century BCE, but Kirchner in IG prefers the 3rd century.

Delphi

Delphi was one of the main sanctuaries of Apollo, its oracle being in operation since the 8th century BCE. It was established as a Panhellenic sanctuary in the 6th century BCE when the Amphictiony (a federation of twelve tribes from central Greece, Attica, Peloponnese and Euboea) seized the control over the sanctuary and the oracle. The first Pyhian games were held in 591/0 or 586/5 BCE. The oracle

⁵³ LGPN ii, 154. Inscriptions dated between 5th and 2nd century BCE.

was consulted by Greek and foreign rulers, like Croesus, on important political matters⁵⁴ and starting in the 6th century BCE many Greek cities built treasuries at Delphi. Between the 6th and 5th century BCE the Ionic, Cnidian, Cyrenian, Corinthian and Athenian⁵⁵ Treasuries and the Stoa of the Athenians were built. In 548 BCE the temple of Apollo was destroyed by fire and rebuilt by the Alcmaeonids of Athens who also gained control over the oracle, which more or less compromised its impartiality. Delphi was attacked by the Persians in 480 BCE but suffered little damage, purportedly defended by Apollo himself. The temple was destroyed by an earthquake in 373 BCE and suffered further damage after the Phocaeans plundered the sanctuary and melted down the gold and silver votives to pay their troops. In the 3rd century BCE Delphi was under Aetolian control and survived an attack by the Gauls in 279 BCE. The Roman domination that began after 168 BCE saw mixed fortunes for the Delphic sanctuary and oracle. Sulla plundered the sanctuary in 86 BCE and Nero removed 500 statues, but Domitian repaired the Temple of Apollo in 84 CE. The major benefactor, however, was Hadrian who held the city's archonship twice, reformed the Amphictiony and donated public buildings. Delphi became a popular tourist destination and was visited by Pausanias.⁵⁶ A Christian basilica was constructed in the 5th century CE. Many public buildings in Delphi were dedicated or built by Greek or foreign rulers as legitimization of their political position; for example the the Theatre, where the hymns in honour of Apollo were sang and played, which was completed in the 2nd century BCE by Eumenes II of Pergamum. Delphi was also a *polis*, which flourished during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

⁵⁴ For example, the oracle was consulted by the Greeks on the outcome of their war with the Persians.. Cf. Herodotes vii.140-1, 148.

⁵⁵ According to Pausanias 10.11, the Athenian treasury was built by the spoils from the battle of Marathon.

Ach42. Manumission of Ioudaios

Editions: Wescher & Foucart 1863, 239 no.364; SGDI ii 1899, no.2029 (ed. C. von Baunack), n.3; Oehler 1909, 443 no.107; CIJ i 1936, no.710.

Other bibliography: Calderini 1908, 76 no.25, 186; Juster 1914, ii 327–8 n.1; Ferrua 1941, 45; Bömer 1960, 25 n.2; Leipoldt & Grundmann 1965/7, 241 no.254; Hengel 1974, i 42, 86; Reilly 1978, 67 no.1507; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Kant 1987, 683, n.80; Kraemer 1989, 48; Williams 1997, 250-1, 258 no. 1; Williams 1998, no. I.8 (English tr.); Cohen 1999, 98.

Found at Delphi. Now: Delphi, Temple of Apollo, *in situ*.

Language: Greek. Date: 163/2 BCE(?).

Text (follows SGDI ii 1899):

[ἄρ]χοντο[ς Ἐμμενίδα τοῦ] Καλλία [μ]ηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου], ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε ἀπ[έ]-
δοτο Κλέων Κλευδάμου, συνεπαινεύσας Ξενοφανείας τῆς [μα]τρὸς
Κλευδάμου, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὧ ὄνομα
Ἰουδαῖος, τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων, ἐ-
φ' ὧτε ἐλεύθερον εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸμ πάντα 5
βίον, καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Ἰουδαῖος τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὧνᾶν, ποιέων ὃ κα θε-
λη. βεβαιωτῆρες κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος Ξένων Γλαύκου, Ἀριστίων
Ἀγωνος, μάρτυρες τοῖ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀμύντας, Ταρραντίνος
καὶ τοῖ ἄρχοντες Ἀριστίων, Ἀσανδρος, Ἀριστόμαχος, ἰδιῶται
Σωδαμίδας, Θεύφραστος, Τείσων, Γλαῦκος Ξένωνος, Μένης. 10

1. CIJ: τοῖς δε

3. CIJ: Πυθίωνι

5. CIJ: τὸν

In the archonship of Emmenides (the son) of Callias, in the month of Apellaaios,⁵⁷ Cleon (son) of Cleodamus, with the consent of Xenophaneia the mother of Cleodamus, has sold to Apollo Pythios a male body [=slave], Ioudaios by name, a Jew by race, for the sum of four silver minae,⁵⁸ on condition that he is to be free and shall not be claimed (as a slave) by anyone throughout his whole life. Since Ioudaios has entrusted the sale to the god, he may do whatever he wishes. Guarantors according to the law of the city: Xenon (son) of Glaucus, Aristion (son) of Agon. Witnesses: Amyntas (and) Tarantinus, the priests of Apollo, and the archons Aristion, Asandrus (and) Aristomachus. Laymen: Sodamidas, Theuphrastus, Teison, Glaucus (son) of Xenon, Menes.

The text is inscribed on the Polygonal Wall of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

This retaining wall was built with polygonal stones after the destruction of the old temple of Apollo in 548 BCE. The wall supported the southern side of the new temple platform and its eastern end was used as a rear wall of the Stoa of the

⁵⁶ Pausanias 10.5.

⁵⁷ November/December.

⁵⁸ = 400 drachmae.

Athenians (built 479 BCE). Almost all of the 800 inscriptions inscribed on the wall are dated between the 2nd century BCE and 1st century CE.

This is a manumission granting full freedom to the released slave. Hopkins and Roscoe note that in the 2nd century BCE 72% of the slaves at Delphi were released unconditionally.⁵⁹ This inscription follows the standard formula used at Delphi in this period. After the fictitious sale to the god Apollo by his master (ll.1–5), with the consent of the mother of his master, the slave Ἰουδαῖος was legally free. He was not dependent on the master/mistress anymore, could not be claimed by another person and had full freedom of action and movement; his new status was guaranteed by a large number of witnesses (ll.5–10).

Ἰουδαῖος should be treated as a personal name.⁶⁰ Fraser notes the use of ethnic personal names among slaves and ex-slaves. These names “are nearly always in their true ethnic form”.⁶¹ Similar examples of ethnics used as personal names occur, for example, in *SGDI* ii 1749 for a Cypriote (Κύπριος τὸ γένος Κύπριον) and 2175 for a Libyan (ὦτι ὄνομα Λίβυς γένος Λίβυς).

1.3. σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον/γυναικεῖον is a common designation of the slaves in the Delphic manumissions. The slaves were not regarded legally as persons but as things.⁶²

1.4. The sum paid for the slave’s freedom, 400 drachmae, is exactly typical of the manumission price paid for an adult male slave at Delphi in the period 201–153 BCE.⁶³ According to Hopkins (1978, 146), it would feed a poor peasant family for over three years.

⁵⁹ Hopkins 1978, 141–2.

⁶⁰ Williams 1997a, 251–2.

⁶¹ Fraser 2001, 151–2.

⁶² Hopkins 1978, 145.

⁶³ Hopkins (1978, 159) calculates the average at 403 drachmae. There was considerable inflation later.

11.5–6. The expression ἐλεύθερος, ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον (or χρόνον) is used in almost all Delphic unconditional manumissions to set the terms of slave's newly acquired juridical freedom.⁶⁴ It occurs also in *Ach44*.

It has been suggested that the slave Ἰουδαῖος and Jewish slaves manumitted in *Ach43* were prisoners of war from the Judæan campaigns of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE) of 167/5 BCE.⁶⁵ This, though possible, cannot be ascertained. However, if the slave really was a captive of Antiochus IV, it would show very rapid manumission, suggesting presumably that the sum of four minas was a 'ransom' paid by fellow-Jews rather than money raised by the slave himself.

Wescher & Foucart and Baunack date the manumission to the period of the IVth priesthood of Delphi (170–157/6 BCE) and Frey gives a more precise date: 163/2 BCE. This is consistent with the work of Daux (1943, no.L36), who puts the archonship of Emmenides son of Kallias in '163/2(?)'.

Ach43. Manumission of Antigona, Theodora and Dorothea

Editions: Wescher & Foucart 1863, 59–60 no.57; SGDI ii 1899, no.1722 (ed. C. von Baunack), n.4; Oehler 1909, 443 no.106; CIJ i 1936, no.709.

Other bibliography: Calderini 1908, 76 no.25, 185; Ferrua 1941, 45; Bömer 1960, 25 n.2; Leipoldt & Grundmann 1965/7, 241 no.254; Hengel 1974, i 42, 86; Reilly 1978, 9 no.199, 37 no.809, 64 no.1437; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Kant 1987, 683, n.80; Williams 1998, no.I.9 (English tr.); Cohen 1999, 98.

Found at Delphi. Now: Delphi, Temple of Apollo, *in situ*.

Language: Greek. Date: 158/7 BCE.

Text (follows SGDI ii 1899):

Ἄρχοντος Ἀρχωνος τοῦ Καλλία μηνὸς Ἐνδυσποιτροπίου, ἀπέδοτο Ἀ-
 τισίδας Ὀρθαίου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σώματα γυναικεῖα τρία αἱς ὀ-
 νόματα Ἀντιγόνα τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Θεοδώραν
 καὶ Δωροθέαν, τιμὰς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν ἑπτὰ, καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχει πᾶσαν. βεβαι-
 ωτῆρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὰς πόλιος· Εὐδοκος Πραξία Δελφός. καθὼς ἐπί- 5
 στευσσε Ἀντιγόνα καὶ Θεοδώρα καὶ Δωροθέα τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὥνᾶν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐ-
 λεύθεραι εἴμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτοι ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον. εἰ δέ τις ἅπτοι-
 το ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ αὐτᾶν, βέβαιον παρεχέτω ὃ τε ἀποδόμενος Ἀτει-

⁶⁴ Marinovich 1977, 26.

⁶⁵ Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65. Cf. 1Macc 1.1–38, 3.10–24, 3:38–41; 2Macc 5.24–6, 8.8–11; Josephus, *AJ* 12, 272–8, 287–92, 298–9.

σίδας καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ Εὐδοκος· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέχουσιν βέβαιον τὰν ὥνᾶν τῷ
 θεῷ ὃ τε ἀποδόμενος καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ πράκτιμοι ἐόντω κατὰ τὸν νόμον. 10
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρα[τ]ηγγάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντω συλέοντες
 αὐτὰς ὡς ἐλευθέραις ἐούσαις ἀξάμιοι ἐόντες καὶ
 ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας. μάρτυροι ὁ ἱε-
 ρεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀμύντας καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες
 Νίκαρχος, Κλέων Δαμοσθένης, Ἀγίων Ἐκεφύλου, 15
 ἰδιῶται Ἄρχων Νικοβούλου, Εὐδωρος Ἀμύντα.

1. CIJ: Ἐνδυσποιτροπίον

5. Wescher & Foucart: Πραξιδα

8-9. Wescher & Foucart: Ἀτισίδας

14. CIJ: Ἀπόλωνος

In the archonship of Archon (son) of Callias, in the month Endyspoitropios,⁶⁶ Atisidas, son of Orthaios, has sold to Apollo Pythios three female bodies [=slaves] called Antigona, Jewess by race, and her daughters Theodora and Dorothea for the sum of seven silver minae,⁶⁷ and he [i.e. Apollo] has the full sum (of money). Guarantor according to the law of the city: Eudocus (son) of Praxias, a Delphian. Antigona, Theodora and Dorothea have entrusted the sale to the god on the provision that they will be free and not claimed (as slaves) by anyone throughout their life. If anyone takes them into slavery, let the seller Atisidas and the guarantor Eudocos secure the sale (to the god). If a guarantee for the sale to the god is not provided by the seller and the guarantor, let them be liable to a fine according to the law (of the city). In the same way, let anyone who comes across them have the right to rescue them, since they are free, without incurring punishment or trial, free from all legal action and penalties. Witnesses: Amyntas, the priest of Apollo, and the archons Nicarchus, Cleon (son) of Damostheneus, Hagion (son) of Ecephylus. Laymen: Archon (son) of Nicobulus, Eudorus (son) of Amyntas.

The text is inscribed on the Polygonal Wall of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

This is another Delphic manumission recording unconditional release of Jewish slaves through fictitious sale to the god Apollo (cf. *Ach42*). The text of the manumission is very similar to SGDI ii (1899), 1719-20 (170-157/6 BCE). It follows exactly the same pattern as *Ach42*, with the addition of some extra protection for the ex-slaves' freedom. According to Hopkins (1978, 161), the average manumission price for an adult female at Delphi in this period was 390 drachmae. This suggests that the two daughters, whose combined price was

⁶⁶ December/January.

⁶⁷ =700 drachmae.

apparently about 310 drachmae, were still young children. Combined manumissions of mothers and children are the only type of 'family' manumission attested at Delphi.⁶⁸

The name Antigona and the male form Antigonus occur in Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica,⁶⁹ and the masculine name was also used by the Hasmoneans. The daughters have theophoric names, presumably given to them by their mother rather than their owner. Only the male form of Dorothea, Δωροθέος, is evidenced epigraphically – on two Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica.⁷⁰ On the name Theodora cf. *Ach16*.

Wescher & Foucart, Baunack and Frey date the manumission to the period of the IVth priesthood of Delphi (170–157/6 BCE). Daux (1943, no.L 41) puts the archonship of Archon son of Kallias in 158/7.

Ach44. Manumission by Ioudaios

Editions: FD iii.2 1909/13, 270–1 no.247; CIJ i 1936, 711.

Other bibliography: Juster 1914, i 327; Bömer 1960, 25 n.2; Hengel 1974, i 42, 86; Reilly 1978, 7 no.153; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Kant 1987, 683, n.80; Kraemer 1989, 48; Williams 1997, 250–1, 258 no. 2; Williams 1998, no.V.55 (English tr.).

Found at Delphi. Now: Delphi, Treasury of the Athenians, *in situ*.

Details: Letters 0.7–0.8 cm. Space between lines 0.6–0.7 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 119 BCE(?)

Text (follows FD iii.2 1909/13):

1. ἄρχοντος Ἡρακλείδ[α] μη[ν]ὸς Ποιτροπίου, ἀπέδοτο Ἰο[υδ]αῖ[ο]ς
Πινδάρου, συνευδοκέοντος
2. τοῦ υἱοῦ Πινδάρου, τῷ [Ἀ]πόλ[λ]ωνι σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, ᾧ ὄνομα
[Ἀμ]ύντας, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου
3. μὲν πέντε, καὶ τὰν τιμὰ[ν] ἔ]χει. βεβαιωτὴρ Κλέων Κλευδά[μ]ου.
παραμεινά[τ]ω δὲ Ἀμύντας παρὰ Ἰουδαῖ[ο]ν,
4. ἕως καὶ ζῇ Ἰουδαῖος, ποιέων τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ
δυ[να]τόν. εἰ δὲ μὴ, κύριος ἔστω Ἰουδαῖ[ο]ς
5. [ἐπ]ιτιμέων Ἀμύνται ὥς καὶ φαίνεται αὐτῷ πλάμ μὴ πωλέ[ων].
ἐπ[ε]ὶ δ]ὲ καὶ τι π[ρ]άθῃ Ἰουδαῖος,

⁶⁸ Hopkins 1978, 164–5.

⁶⁹ CJZC 72; app. 12i.

⁷⁰ CJZC 2, 14a.

6. ἐλεύθερος ἔστω [Ἀμύν]τας, καθὼς πεπίστευκε τὰν ὄντων τῷ θεῷ Ἀμύντας, ὥσ[τε] ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπ-
7. τος ἀπὸ πάν[των] τῶν πάντα βίον. εἰ δέ τις ἐφάπτοιτο Ἀμύντα ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, κύριος ἔστω συλέων ὁ παρατυ-
8. [χὼν ὥς] ἐλεύθερον ὄντα καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ βεβαιούτω τὰν ὄντων τῷ [θε]ῷ. μάρτυροι οἱ ἄρχοντες[ς]
9. [Νικάτας Σώστρατος Καλλία]ς καὶ ἰδιῶται Τιμοκλῆς Ξενόκρατις Σώστρατος Ταράντινος Φ[ιλ]οκράτης.

In the archonship of Heraclidas, in the month Poitropios,⁷¹ Ioudaios (son) of Pindarus, has, with the agreement of his son Pindarus, sold to Apollo a male body [=slave], Amyntas by name, for five silver minae⁷² to set him free and he [i.e. Apollo] has the money. Guarantor: Cleon (son) of Cleudamus. Amyntas shall stay with Ioudaios for as long as Ioudaios lives, doing everything he is required to the best of his ability. If, however, Amyntas does not do that, Ioudaios may punish him in whatever way he wishes, but he cannot sell him. If something happens to Ioudaios [i.e. he dies], Amyntas shall be free, (and) because Amyntas has entrusted the sale to the god he shall be free and immune from any seizure throughout his whole life. If anyone seizes Amyntas to enslave him, let anyone, whoever by chance he is, have the right to rescue him, since he is free, and let the guarantor make the sale to the god secure. Witnesses: the archons Nicatas, Sostratus, Callias; laymen: Timocles, Xenocritus, Sostratus, Tarantinus, Philocrates.

The text is inscribed on a small polygonal wall in the east terrace of the Treasury of the Athenians. The treasury is located in the southern half of the Sanctuary of Apollo and was built by the Athenians after 490 BCE with spoils from the Battle of Marathon. The inscriptions inscribed on its walls include hymns to Apollo with musical notation, and manumissions.⁷³

This is a typical *paramonē* manumission (conditional or suspended release) from Delphi. The inscription begins with the date the manumission took place and then records the fictitious sale of the slave Amyntas to Pythian Apollo (ll.1–3). The *paramonē* clause sets the period for which the slave is bound to stay with his master, in this case during latter's lifetime, with a punishment for non-obedience (ll.3–5). It is then followed by a release clause, which sets the time of the end of

⁷¹ January/February.

⁷² =500 drachmae.

⁷³ FD iii.2 1909/13, 147-169, nos. 137-8; 242271, nos. 212-247.

the *paramonē*, after the death of the master, and a public statement to the manumission's guarantor and witnesses to secure the ex-slave's freedom (ll.5–9).⁷⁴ According to Hopkins (1978), conditional manumission became increasingly common at Delphi since 1st century BCE.⁷⁵

ll.1. Ἰουδαῖος appears to be a personal name not an ethnic, as his father is called Pindarus. Apparently, in this inscription we also have an example of ethnic personal name similar to *Ach42*. This would normally suggest a slave. Ioudaios is obviously free and gives a patronymic (his father's name Pindarus is otherwise unattested as a Jewish name), but since the ex-slave Moschus also gives himself a patronymic in *Ach45*, it is perhaps possible that Ioudaios was really a freedman. The inscription seems to be a rare example of a Jew manumitting a slave in a pagan temple. The participation of Jews in pagan ceremonies or taking oath by pagan deities is attested by Josephus,⁷⁶ in a papyrus from near the Dead Sea,⁷⁷ in *CPJ 427* dated 101 CE (these two involve swearing by the emperor or his *tyche*) and *Ach45*. Pagan oaths were also used by Jewish manumittors in the Bosporan Kingdom.⁷⁸ If Ioudaios was a practising Jew, his use of the pagan temple can probably be attributed to the greater security, which it gave to the manumission. Assuming that Amyntas was a pagan, the religious aspect of the manumission ceremony would still have had meaning to one of the parties.

ll.1–2. The use of συνευδοκέοντος (from συνευδοκέω), literally 'in agreement', indicates that Ioudaios's son took part in the manumission ceremony. The slave was, most probably, mandated also to serve him during the period of the

⁷⁴ Hopkins 1978, 143–6.

⁷⁵ Hopkins 1978, 142.

⁷⁶ The sacrifice performed by Antiochus, the apostate son of the Jewish *archon* of Antioch. Cf. *BJ* vii, 50–1.

⁷⁷ XHev/Se Gr.5, in Cotton 1995, 176; see Noy 2001, 80.

⁷⁸ Mitchell 1999, 133, nos. 85–86; Binder 1999, 274–5.

paramonē, although he would not be bound to him after Ioudaios's death.⁷⁹ The presence of the seller's heirs during the manumission ceremony, which was common at Delphi, is also found in Jewish manumissions from Panticapaeum.⁸⁰

11.2–3. The sum paid for the conditional manumission seems high. According to Hopkins, in the period 153–100 BCE the average price paid by an adult male slave was 528 drachmae for full freedom and 413 for conditional release.⁸¹

11.4–5. The formula ποιέων τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν is typical, with small variations, for the *paramonē* manumissions at Delphi (ποιῶν πᾶν τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἀνεγκλήτως; FD iii.6, 132). It sets the obligations of the ex-slave during the time of the *paramonē*. As Hopkins notes (1978, 148), the change to the slave's everyday life seems to be minimal, but it gave him/her continued security until obtaining full freedom at the master's death (in whose date the ex-slave now had a sharper interest).

1.5. In the *paramonē* manumissions the masters usually had the legal right to punish the ex-slave if he/she disobeyed their orders. The punishment could include a secondary sale of the slave to another person or cancelling the sale to the god (i.e. the manumission) and revoking the slave's freedom (FD iii.3 6, 329; SGDI ii 1721).⁸² The exclusive prohibition of the secondary sale of the slave mentioned here occurs also in FD iii.3 306; FD iii.6 6; SGDI ii 2156, etc.

Colin in FD dates the inscription to the XIth priesthood of Delphi, 119 BCE.

⁷⁹ Marinovich 1977, 46.

⁸⁰ Binder 1999, 443, n.126.

⁸¹ Hopkins 1978, 171.

⁸² Hopkins 1978, 153–4.

Oropus (Skala Oropou)

Oropus is located in the Asopus valley on the border between Boeotia and Attica. The city was a notorious point of contention between Thebes and Athens and frequently changed hands between the two city-states.⁸³ The underground sanctuary is located about 6.5 km. south-east of modern Skala Oropou. It was dedicated to the hero Amphiaraus, who according to one tradition was swallowed by the earth there after the tragic failure of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. The sanctuary became popular during the Peloponnesian War and remained so during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; Sulla granted it tax-free status.⁸⁴ Amphiaraus was invested with healing powers similar to those of Asclepius. The cure or the consultation at his sanctuary was performed through incubation. According to Pausanias, the patients had to sacrifice a ram, lie on its skin on the ground, and spend the night in the sanctuary. Amphiaraus then visited them in their sleep. A priest took a fee for the sacrifice.⁸⁵

Ach45. Manumission of Moschus / dedication to Amphiaraus

Editions: Mitsos 1952, 194–6 (from the stone); BE 1956, no.121; Lewis 1957, 264–6; SEG xv 1958, no.293; SEG xvi 1959, no.299; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.711b; Petrakos 1997, 248–9 no.329.

Illustrations: Mitsos 1952, fig.13 (photo); Petrakos 1997, 249 (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1959, no.178; Robert 1960, 385; Bömer 1960, 24–6, 139–40; Urdahl 1968, 48 no.26; Guarducci 1974, 274–276; Hengel 1974, i 42, 139; Albrecht 1978, 90; Bruneau 1982, 479; Wasserstein 1982, 270; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Kant 1987, 684, n.82; BE 1997, no.412; Williams 1997, 255, 258 no. 9; Williams 1998, no.V.50 (English tr.); Cohen 1999, 96–8.

Found at the Ampharaeion, Oropus. Now: Kalamos, Amphiareion Archaeological Museum, inv.no.A 261.

Details: Stele of bluish marble, upper part broken, 46 x 31.7–34.4 x 7.6 cm (Petrakos).

Letters 0.9–0.5 cm. (Petrakos). Letter forms: Α Ε Σ

⁸³ Fossey 1988, 29–45.

⁸⁴ IG vii 413.

⁸⁵ Pausanias, I.34.5. SIG³, no. 1004. Schachter i 1981, 19–26; Krauskopf 1981, 690–713. The maximum fee paid in Oropus was 9 obols (=1.5 drachmae). Cf. Sokolowski 1954, 153.

Language: Greek. Date: 300–250 BCE.

Text (follows Petrakos 1997 and personal inspection):

[-----ἐφ' ᾧ τε]
 Μόσχον Φρ[υνίδα] παραμένειν ἔνιαυ-]
 τὸν καὶ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον μη[θενὶ μηδ]έν
 προσήκοντα· ἐὰν δέ τι πάθῃ Φρυνίδας
 πρὸ τοῦ τὸν χρόνον διεξελθεῖν ἐλεύθερο[ς] 5
 ἀπίτω Μόσχος οἷ ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται·
 τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ. μάρτυρες Ἀθηνόδωρος
 Μνασικῶντος Ὠρώπιος, Βίотτος Εὐδίκου
 Ἀθηναῖος, Χαρίνος Ἀντιχάρμου Ἀθηναῖος,
 Ἀθηνάδης Ἐπιγόνου Ὠρώπιος, Ἴππων Αἰσχύ- 10
 λου Ὠρώπιος· Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος
 ἐνύπνιον ἰδὼν προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ
 Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας καθ' ἃ συνέταξε
 ὁ Ἀμφιάραος καὶ ἡ Ὑγεία ἐν στήλῃ γράψαντα
 ἀναθεῖναι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ. 15

2. Mitsos, Lewis, CIJ i², Guarducci: Φρ[υνίδας]----

3. Mitsos, Lewis, CIJ i², Guarducci: μη[θενὶ μηδ]έν

5. Mitsos, Lewis, CIJ i², Guarducci: πρὸ τοῦ

6. CIJ i², καθά

..... under which Moschus is to serve Phrynidas(?) for a year(?), and to be free, dependant to no one. If anything happens to Phrynidas before the time (of the *paramonē*) elapses, let Moschus go free wherever he wishes. With good fortune. Witnesses: Athenodorus (son) of Mnasikon of Oropos, Biottus (son) of Eudicus of Athens, Charinus (son) of Anticharmus of Athens, Athenades (son) of Epigonus of Oropus, Hippon (son) of Aeschylus of Oropus.

Moschus (son of) Moschion, a Jew, (set this up) having seen a dream with the god Amphiaraus and Hygeia commanding (him), in accordance with what Amphiaraus and Hygeia ordered, to write it on a stele and set it up by the altar.

This inscription was found in 1952 during excavations at the Amphiareion. This is the first manumission found there; other inscriptions include proxeny decrees set up, mainly, by the Boeotian confederacy, and dedications.⁸⁶

Mitsos, Robert and Lifshitz note that the missing part of the inscription included a *paramonē* stipulation similar to those found in the Delphic manumissions.⁸⁷ A *paramonē* clause also occurs in a manumission from Delphi, where the manumitter is a Jew (*Ach44*). The missing part most probably included

⁸⁶ Petrakos 1997.

the date of the manumission and a reference to the condition of the fictional sale to the god Amphiaraus. Healing deities were not usually involved in manumissions in this way (but cf. *Ach64*). The manumittor's name Phrynidas is largely restored, and the restoration of Petrakos has been followed above, indicating that the *paramonē* was to last for one year.⁸⁸ Mitsos notes that the name Φρυνίδας is of Boeotian origin. It occurs on a number of inscriptions from Tanagra.⁸⁹ The names Μόσχος and Μοσχίων were quite popular in Greece and especially at Athens (LGPN s.v.). This is the only attestation of a Jew undertaking incubation in a pagan temple.

11.3–4. The formula is similar to the one found in the later Delphic manumissions: ἐλεύθερος, μηδενὶ μηδέν προσήκων κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον.⁹⁰ The formula is used to secure the juridical freedom of the freed slave.

11.4–5. This is the last part of the *paramonē* and the release clauses of the manumission: if the manumittor dies before the time of the *paramonē* is up, the slave is released immediately. A legal clause securing the free status of the slave, either by sanctioning the guarantor or/and the vendor to confirm the sale or freeing anyone who secures the slave's freedom from legal action or penalty, usually present in the Delphic *paramonē* manumissions, is not included here.⁹¹

1.11. The patronymic and ethnic which Moschus uses would normally lead to the assumption that he was freeborn. Cf. *Ach44*.

11.12–15. The dedication to Amphiaraus and Hygeia is the most unusual part of the manumission – a similar dedication is not found on any of the Delphic

⁸⁷ FD iii.3.3.

⁸⁸ According to Hopkins (1978, 151), the average duration of a fixed-term *paramonē* at Delphi was six years.

⁸⁹ IG vii 416, 542–3, 669.

⁹⁰ Marinovich 1978, 26.

⁹¹ Hopkins 1978, 142–6.

manumissions. It seems, however, that with this dedication Moschus is securing his status as a freedman. The command of Amphiaraus and Hygeia to place a stele recording his manumission at the altar of the Amphiareion represents Moschus' will to have a public record of this act. This, undoubtedly, was done as a reassurance that his new status would not be lost.⁹² Perhaps the implication here is also that the manumission was brought about by the miraculous intervention of divine powers.

1.15. The altar mentioned in the inscription is, most probably, the one described by Pausanias. According to him, the altar of the Amphiareion had five different parts: the first was dedicated to Heracles, Zeus, and Apollo the Healer; the second to the heroes and to wives of heroes; the third to Hestia, Hermes and Amphiaraus and the children of Amphilochus; the fourth to Aphrodite and Panacea, Iaso and Athena the Healer; and the fifth is dedicated to the nymphs, Pan, and to the rivers Achelous and Cephisus.⁹³ It is possible then that Moschus had placed his inscription near the third part of the altar dedicated to Amphiaraus.

Mitsos dates the inscription to 300–250 BCE on palaeographic grounds. Lewis suggests that Moschos and his father may have come to Greece as slaves after the campaign of Alexander the Great in Palestine (334–3 BCE). This is possible, but Moschos could well have been born in Greece.

⁹² Hopkins 1978, 145.

⁹³ Pausanias, I.34.4.

Plataea

Plataea is located in southern Boeotia between the mountain Cithaeron and the river Asopus. The city was in alliance with Athens and supported the Athenians at the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE. Near the city the famous battle of Plataea was fought in 479 BCE, which ended the Persian invasion in Greece.⁹⁴ An altar to Zeus Eleutherius was erected in the city to commemorate the Greek victory. The city sided with Athens in the Peloponnesian war and was captured by Thebes in 427 BCE. Thebes seized Plataea again in 373 BCE, but after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE Philip II of Macedon refounded it. Plataea remained loyal to the Romans during the Third Macedonian war, but suffered destruction during the campaign of Sulla of 86 BCE. The four-yearly Panhellenic Eleutherian games were established in the 3rd century BCE also as a commemoration of the battle of Plataea. They were held until the mid-3rd century CE. The city was refortified by Justinian I in the 6th century CE.

Ach46. Epitaph of Issachar

Editions: Philios 1899, 59; Skias 1900, 136–7; Robert 1946, 104; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.711a.

Other bibliography: Skias 1917, 165; Giannopoulos 1930, 262–3.

Recorded in the church of St Basil, Plataea.

Details: Marble stele with *aetoma*, 50 x 20 x 8 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd–3rd century(?).

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

(*menorah*)

[- - 'Ισσ]αχάρα 'Ηρακλείδου.

Kastriotis *ap.* Philios: ...ΧΑΙΑΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ on the stone

1. Skias, CIJ I 1936: [- - 'Ισσ]αχάρα

Issachar (son) of Heraclides.

The inscription was first recorded in 1898/9 when Kastriotis saw the stele built into the steps of the entrance leading to the *narthex* (ἡ ὠραία πύλη) of the church

of St Basil (Ἅγιος Βασίλειος) in Plataea. In 1900, Skias discovered a very small image of a *menorah* scratched in the *aetoma* of the stele, which proved his suggestion that the inscription is Jewish.⁹⁵ He also completed the name of the deceased person as Ἰσαχάρα, which has been accepted by Giannopoulos, Robert and Lifshitz.

The name Issachar is attested on an ossuary from Mt Scopus, Jerusalem (pre-70 CE), but is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri.⁹⁶ It is the name of Issachar, the fifth son of Jacob and Leah and eponymic ancestor of the tribe of Issachar (Gen 30.15–8). In the LXX his name is written as Ἰσσαχάρ. Heraclides (Ἡρακλείδης) occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Alexandria⁹⁷ and Cyrenaica⁹⁸; on two papyri from Alexandria and Theadelphia and on an ostrakon from Edfu, Egypt.⁹⁹

The inscription has not been dated by any of the editors. However, the use of a *menorah* means that it is unlikely to be earlier than the 2nd/3rd century CE.

⁹⁴ Herodotes ix.28.

⁹⁵ Skias 1900, 137 n.2.

⁹⁶ Ilan 2002, 181.

⁹⁷ JIGRE 18.

⁹⁸ CJZG 72.

⁹⁹ CPJ i 144.5, ii 209.2, iii 455.3.

Chapter 6

Section 3

ACHAEA: Peloponnese*Corinth*

The city of Corinth was an important political, trade and religious centre (the Panhellenic Isthmian Sanctuary and Games were administrated by the city) during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. As a member of the Achaean League the city participated in the Second Macedonian War against Rome and was destroyed in 146 BCE by the Roman consul Mummius. Corinth was refounded in 44 BCE as a Roman colony and from 27 BCE became the seat of the provincial administration of the province of Achaea. In the 2nd century CE the city was renovated by Herodes Atticus. Corinth suffered from earthquakes in 77, 375 and 521 CE. It was sacked by Alaric in 396 CE but remained the seat of the governor until the end of the 7th century CE.

The literary and archaeological evidence for the presence of Jews in the city is scarce. Philo lists Corinth among the cities with a Jewish colony, and Josephus states that Vespasian had sent 6000 Jews from Magdala to work as slaves on the construction of the Isthmian Canal.¹⁰⁰ According to Acts 18.4-8 Paul visited the synagogue in Corinth and even succeeded in converting the local *archisynagogos* Crispus. God-fearers are also mentioned in Corinth: Justus, who

¹⁰⁰ *Legat.* 281; *BJ* 3.540.

according to Acts 18.7 lived next to the synagogue. Paul was reportedly put on trial by the local Jewish community before the proconsul Gallio (Acts 18.12-13).

A pier of a column capital (39 x 69 x 20 cm) bearing the images of menorah, lulab & ethrog was discovered during the excavations of the theatre at Corinth (Pl. XXX, fig. 5). It apparently came from a synagogue and has been dated to 5th century.¹⁰¹ There are four unpublished mediaeval Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew preserved in the Archaeological museum of Corinth (inv. nos. 92, 807, 808, 957).¹⁰²

Ach47. Synagogue inscription (Pl. XXIV, fig. 2)

Editions: Powell 1903, 60–1 no.40; Oehler 1909, 538 no.110a; Krauss 1922, 242–3 no.92; Meritt 1931, 78–9 no.111; Cadbury & Lake 1933, v 64 n.1; CIJ i 1936, no.718; Bees, Lietzmann & Soteriou 1941, 16–19 no.6; Gabba 1958, 111 no.34; Boffo 1994, 361–4 no.45.

Illustrations: Powell 1903 (squeeze); Deismann 1923, fig.2; Meritt 1931, 78–9 (photo); CIJ I 1936 (drawing); Bees, Lietzmann & Soteriou 1941; Wiseman 1979, pl.V, fig.8; Lampropoulou 1993, 661, fig.1.

Other bibliography: Wilisch 1908, 427; Deismann 1911, 59–60; Juster 1914, i 188, n.2; Zahn 1921, 638–46; Deismann 1923, 12–13, n.8; Lietzmann 1932, 83; Cadbury & Lake 1933, iv 224; Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 100; Barrett 1957, 50 no.48 (also 1987, 53 no.51); de Waele 1961, 196; W. Schrage, *ThWNT* vii 1964, 807–8; Urdahl 1968, 54; Hengel 1971, 183; Wiseman 1979, 503–5; Foerster 1981, 185; Horsley 1983, 121 no.94; Murphy-O'Connor 1983, 81; Furnish 1984, 21; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Kant 1987, 692–3, n.131; Lampropoulou 1993, 660–4.

Found at Corinth. Now: Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 123.

Details: A block of white marble, 22 x 93 x 42 cm.

Letters: ΓHE = 6.5 cm; BP = 9.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: Late 3rd century CE or later(?).

Text (follows *Corinth viii.1* 1931 and photo):

[Συννα]γωγη Ἑβραίων

Synagogue of the Hebrews.

This inscription was discovered in 1898 on the Lechaecum Road at the foot of the marble steps leading to the Propylaea. The first editor of the inscription, B. Powell, notes that the marble block on which it is inscribed 'is broken at the right,

and at the left the inscribed surface is mutilated. The block shows an ornament of dentals and spaces underneath, and was probably a cornice block originally. The left end was afterwards trimmed and chiselled to fit another block, which joined this one diagonally. The stone then formed the base of a tympanum or pediment, and, with each end built into the wall, it probably formed the lintel over a doorway'. Powell, followed by Bees, assumed the block had not been moved too far from its original site because of its size and weight and located the building of the synagogue in Corinth 'in the region east of the road to Lechaeum, and but a short distance north of the great fountain of Pirene'.¹⁰³ They both associated the inscription with the synagogue in which St. Paul preached (Acts 18.4). Bees also suggested that synagogue may have been restored at a later date.¹⁰⁴ Meritt noted the inscription is most probably of a later date than the time of St Paul, but agreed with Powell on the location of the first Corinthian synagogue. However, Meeks observes that during the attacks of the Heruli (267) and Alaric's Goths (396) Corinth suffered such extensive destruction, when stones from the city's buildings were smashed and scattered, that it would be difficult to verify Powell's suggestion.¹⁰⁵

On the term 'Εβραῖοι see *Mac10*. If Corinth had a 'synagogue of the Hebrews', the implication could be that there were other synagogues in the city too; cf. the 'synagogue of the Hebrews' as one among many at Rome. The lettering of the inscription is not of a very high standard, which could suggest that the building was far from being a monumental one.

¹⁰¹ Scranton 1957, 116; Foerster 1981, 185; Rothaus 2000, 31 n.79.

¹⁰² Lampropoulou 1993, 47-9; Lampropoulou 1995, 660-8.

¹⁰³ Powell 1906, 60-1.

¹⁰⁴ Bees, Lietzmann & Soteriou 1941, 16-17.

¹⁰⁵ Meeks 1983, 49.

Powell, Wilisch, Krauss and Bees all date the inscription to the time of St. Paul. Deissmann and Frey suggest a date between 100 BCE and 200 CE. Meritt notes that the style of the letters of the inscription suggest a date considerably later than the time of St. Paul, but does not commit himself to a particular date. De Waele and Horsley date the inscription broadly between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE on palaeographic grounds. Urdahl dates it to the 2nd to 4th century. Furnish prefers a 4th century date without giving reasons for this. Murphy-O'Connor also suggests a 4th or even 5th century date for the inscription. Although it is extremely difficult to date such a short and fragmentary inscription, it seems that the inscription could not be dated before the 3rd century CE. It should be noted that, in general, the term Ἑβραῖος / Ἑβραῖοι is not attested epigraphically before the 3rd century CE. The other inscriptions from the Balkans referring to Ἑβραῖος/Ἑβραῖοι have been dated to the 4th century or later (*Mac10-11*). The pier of a column capital bearing the images of menorah, lulab & ethrog that, apparently, came from the Corinthian synagogue has been dated to 5th century.¹⁰⁶ It is preferable then to date this inscription broadly to the late 3rd century or later.

Ach48. Epitaph

Editions: Kent 1966, 119 no.304; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.718a.

Illustration: Kent 1966, pl.25 (photo).

Other bibliography: Robert 1966, 753–4 (=vi 1969–90, 571–2); BE 1967, no.250; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Lampropoulou 1993, 667.

Found at Corinth. Now: Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.2283.

Details: Two adjoining parts of a marble plaque, 18 x 31 x 3.5 cm. 'Parts of the original right and bottom sides are preserved, the bottom side being smooth and the right side roughly cut.' (Kent 1966). The back of the plaque is smooth. The inscription is set in a *tabula ansata*.

Letters: 2.8 cm (Φ = 4 cm).

Language: Greek. Date: late 3rd century CE(?).

Text (follows Kent 1966 and photo):

¹⁰⁶ Scranton 1957, 116.

[- - - - -]
 [- - -]ΘΙΔΙΘ χρόνοις τοῦ
 [- - - τῶ]ν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ
 [- - -]ολιας Σάρας.

4. [Π]ολιας?

... own time ...of his brothers ...olias Sarah.

This inscription was found in May 1929 in the eastern area of Corinth's Theatre. The first editor of the inscription, J.H. Kent, notes that the reading of l.2 is very uncertain as the upper part of the letters is missing. He also dates the inscription to 'the last quarter of the third century' on the basis of the letter forms, but suggests the inscription could also be attributed to the reign of Constantine I (324–37). Kent suggests further on that the missing upper margin (he calls it a 'sunken triangular panel') between the right *ansa* and the inscription may have contained a cross.¹⁰⁷ This, however, can not be proven, and it could just as well have been a Jewish symbol. The inscription was recognised as probably Jewish by Robert, followed by Lifshitz, on basis of the name Sarah. Although the name was also common among other Semitic people and Christians,¹⁰⁸ the literary, archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the existence of a Jewish community in Corinth, and the absence of the name in clearly Christian inscriptions from the area, suggest this is probably a Jewish inscription. Sarah occurs in Jewish epitaphs from Cyrenaica¹⁰⁹ and Rome.¹¹⁰ The form Σάρρα is attested in Cyrenaica¹¹¹, Venosa¹¹² and Rome.¹¹³ The content of the inscription is very unclear, and it is not even certain that it is an epitaph. No convincing reconstruction seems possible.

¹⁰⁷ *Corinth viii.3* 1966, 119.

¹⁰⁸ JIGRE 137.

¹⁰⁹ CJZC 11, 31d, app.4a.

¹¹⁰ JIWE ii 24, 445, 481, 577.

¹¹¹ CJZC 10, 12, 43c, 46a, app.19f

¹¹² JIWE i 88, 111.

Ach49. Epitaph (Pl. XXIV, fig. 3)

Edition: Pallas & Dantes 1977, 80–1 no.29 (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1980, no.230; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65–6; Levinskaya 1996, 165–6.

Found at Corinth. Now: Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.2485.

Details: Part of a marble plaque, broken at the top and on the right, 20 x 14 x 4 cm.

Letters: 2.4 cm.

Language: Greek & Hebrew. Date: 4th century CE or later.

Text (follows Pallas & Dantes 1977 and photo):

[-----]
 ΣΘ[-----]
 "Αννα[ς(?) - -]
 משכב [---]
 (*hedera*)

1. τάφος?

1. Pallas & Dantes: [μνημα(?) ἔρατο(?)-]

2. Pallas & Dantes: -σθ[ένους υἱοῦ]

2-3. or [Σουσα]ννα?

...of Anna(?) resting-place.

This inscription was found in 1955 near the church of the Holy Mother of God in Corinth. There are only three other Jewish inscriptions from the Balkans, which include any text in Hebrew (*Dal5*, *Mac19*, *Ach36bis*). The reading of the first two lines of the inscription is very doubtful; the restoration by Pallas & Dantes is based on only two letters. משכב was a standard Hebrew term for ‘tomb’ corresponding to the Greek τάφος and κοιμητήριον (the latter, however, was almost exclusively used by Christians). In l.4 it may have been part of a concluding formula like שלום על משכב or preceded by the name of deceased in Hebrew. The use of משכב in this inscription could also imply that the missing Greek term for tomb in l. 1 was probably τάφος not μνημα (memorial) proposed by Pallas & Dantes. משכב is found, independently or as part of formulae, in

¹¹³ JIWE ii 550, 579.

inscriptions from Beth She'arim,¹¹⁴ Jerusalem¹¹⁵, Venosa¹¹⁶, Otranto¹¹⁷ and, possibly, Taranto.¹¹⁸

Pallas & Dantes read the name in l. 2 as Ἀννα. On the name Ἀννα see *Ach17*. However, it is far from clear that Anna is in the genitive or that it's a separate name at all. The letters -αννα could also be part of the name Σουσαννα.

Although the inscription was not been dated by the editors, the use of Hebrew is unlikely to be earlier than the 4th century CE and could be substantially later.¹¹⁹

Ach50. Samaritan amulet

Editions: G. Davidson, *Corinth* xii 1952, 260; Kaplan 1980, 196–8.

Illustrations: Davidson 1952, fig.59 (drawing), pl.111:2100 (photo); Kaplan 1980, fig.1 (drawing), pl.21A–B (photos); Lampropoulou 1993, 666, fig.5 (drawing).

Other bibliography: Pummer 1987, 258, 260–1 no.4; Lampropoulou 1993, 667–8; Rothaus 2000, 31 n.79.

Found at Corinth. Now: Athens, American School of Classical Studies.

Details: Upper part of roughly oval bronze sheet, with ring for suspension, inscribed on both sides. Height: 3.1 cm.

Language: Hebrew in Samaritan script. Date: uncertain.

Text (follows Kaplan; underdotting indicates doubtful letters):¹²⁰

(front)

יהנה
גיבור.
יחזק [ר-]
פאך. <ר-
5 [עש א]ת [ה-]
[כיוור נח-]
[שת ואת]
[כנו נח-]
[שת במ-]

¹¹⁴ BS iii 5, 6.

¹¹⁵ CIJ ii 1413–14.

¹¹⁶ JIWE i 70, 75, 81–2, 82a, 84, 86–7, 89, 107, 111

¹¹⁷ JIWE i 134.

¹¹⁸ JIWE i 132.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Ach36bis*.

¹²⁰ Entry supplied by Dr David Noy, University of Lampeter, Wales. Text, translation and app. crit. included with his permission.

(reverse)

[ר]אות ו-
 את שר צ-
 [ב]או פ<ת>-
 ח אהל מ[ו-]
 5 [ע]ב. [ועד]
 [אשר עין]
 [בעין נר-]
 [אה אתה]
 [יהודה]

front 4. ח inscribed for ו

reverse 3. א inscribed for ת

front 4–5. Davidson: [...דעה]א[להים]

reverse 3–4. Davidson: [...]אולש | יוני]

YHWH is a hero. (Ex 15.3)

YHWH healeth thee. (Ex 15.26)

And he made the laver of brass and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors – and the commander of his army¹²¹ – at the door of the tent of meeting. (Ex 38.8)

And the one who appeared face to face is you, YHWH. (Num 14.14)

The inscription includes, with an interpolation, the texts of Ex 15.3, Ex 15.26, Ex 38.8 (running between front and reverse) and Num 14.14. According to Pummer the owner of the amulet was a Christian since there is no other evidence for a Samaritan presence at Corinth.

Kaplan does not date the amulet, but Rothaus (without explanation) puts it in the 4th century. Pummer lists it as 'Byzantine', following Davidson's note that it was found in a Byzantine context, which according to her dating system means 9th–12th century.¹²²

¹²¹ The standard text which has been replaced would read: *of the serving women which served.*

Argos

Argos is located in the southern part of the Argive plain 5 km. from the sea, at the foot of the Larissa Hill. During the Classical and Hellenistic periods the city lost some of its archaic importance especially after the establishment of Sparta's domination in the Peloponnese in the 6th century BCE. The city sided with Philip II of Macedon and became a member of Achaean League.

In the Roman period it was included in the Roman province of Achaëa and enjoyed popularity and standing as a host of the Nemean and Heraean Games. Hadrian built a 30 km long aqueduct. The city was sacked by Alaric in 396 CE and gradually declined. Christian churches are known from the late 5th century CE. Between the 7th and 9th century CE the area was populated by Avar and Slav tribes.

Philo lists Argos among the cities with a Jewish colony.¹²³ A long inscription in Greek (15 lines?) was recently discovered in Argos. The inscription was found by E. Morou in 1981 during excavations at the corner of Atreos and Danaou Streets in modern Argos.¹²⁴ Morou described the inscription as 'Jewish', but does not give the text or details. The photograph published by her is taken from a very awkward angle and the only feature visible is that the inscription is set in a *tabula ansata*. According to Lampropoulou the inscription is being prepared for publication by A. Moutsali.¹²⁵

Ach51. Epitaph of Aurelius Joses

Editions: Vollgraff 1903, 262–3 no.4; CIJ i 1936, no.719; Jacobs 1995, 234–5, no.64.

Other bibliography: Robert 1940, 28; Robert 1960, 385 n.2, 389–90; Hengel 1966, 155–6 n.32; Lifshitz 1967, 64–5; Feissel 1980, 465; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Kant 1987, 696, n.150-1; Lampropoulou 1993, 673-4.

¹²² Davidson 1952, 6–7.

¹²³ *Legat.* 281.

¹²⁴ Morou 1981, 111, pl. 52; SEG 1988, no. 311.

¹²⁵ Lampropoulou 1993, 674, n. 55.

patriarchs and the law of the Jews. Another Jewish epitaph, probably from Naples, also invokes the law against violation of the grave.¹²⁶

11.1–2. The inscription uses the verb ἐνεύχομαι with the accusative for the powers whose protection is sought. This usage, followed by an infinitive, is one of those listed in LSJ, s.v. Examples of comparable ἐνεύχομαι expressions are rarely found in pagan and Christian inscriptions from the Balkans. The only references are IG v.1 1208 (Gythium, Laconia): ἐνεύχομαι τε ὑμῖν θεοὺς | καὶ θεὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν Σεβαστῶν Τύχην¹²⁷ ('I adjure you, gods and goddesses and the *tyche* of the emperors'); IGBul iii.1, 998, (Thrace): [καὶ ἐνε]ύχομαι τῷ Κενδρεῖσφ' Ἀπόλλωνι.¹²⁸ The Latin equivalent of the verb is *adiuro*, used in JIWE i 145.

11.2–3. The powers of God are frequently referred to in the LXX.¹²⁹ Curses against the violation of the grave invoking the powers of God are found in a Christian epitaph from Athens.¹³⁰

1.4. 'Law' could be Jewish or Roman law, but in the context the former seems more likely.

1.5. The patriarchs may be those of Jewish history (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) or the patriarchs in Palestine. Frey and Jacobs support the first possibility. However, in JIWE i 145 it fairly clearly refers to the patriarchs in Palestine, presumably implying the current incumbent and his successors.

1.6. This is the first occurrence of title ἑθνάρχης in a Jewish inscription. Its precise meaning here is difficult to determine. In general, ἑθνάρχης can be translated as 'ruler of a tribe or nation' or 'governor (of a region)' (LSJ, s.v.). The

¹²⁶ JIWE i 26 (1st century CE).

¹²⁷ 11.50–1.

¹²⁸ 1. 6.

¹²⁹ Ps. 23.10; 32.6, 16–7; 45.8, 12; 58.6, 12; 62.3; 68.7; 88.9–11; 135.15, etc.

title occurs only three times in the LXX¹³¹ and in all cases is applied to Simon Maccabeus (140–134 BCE), who was appointed High Priest and *ethnarch* in 140 BCE.¹³² Josephus mentions that Hyrcanus II was also titled both High Priest and ethnarch.¹³³ The title *ethnarch* was also conferred on Herod's son Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE).¹³⁴ Strabo, *ap.* Josephus, describing the Jewish community in Ptolemaic Alexandria states that it was presided over by an ethnarch, who, he says, had broad judicial and political powers.¹³⁵ The office of the ethnarch in Alexandria was, probably, hereditary but was abolished before the end of Augustus' principate.¹³⁶ Considerably later, c.240 CE, Origen called the Patriarch in Palestine 'ethnarch', alluding to his wide political powers.¹³⁷ However, the context in which the title ἔθναρχης is used in this inscription is not clear.¹³⁸ There are various possibilities for its interpretation: the ἔθναρχης could be the Palestinian Patriarchs, local Jewish leaders (according to Frey) or rulers in general.

1.7. The meaning of σοφῶν (gen.pl. of σοφός) in this inscription is uncertain, as it is not clear whether it designates particular functionaries in the Jewish community or wise men mentioned in the Bible. The term is used in the LXX and the NT to designate a skilled or wise men in general, but has not been attested before in Jewish inscriptions.¹³⁹

¹³⁰ Feissel 1980, 459 ll.20–30, 464–5.

¹³¹ 1Macc 14.47; 15.1–2.

¹³² 1Macc 14.27–45.

¹³³ He received the title after helping Caesar during his Egyptian campaign in 47 BCE. Cf. *AJ* 14, 148–151.

¹³⁴ *AJ* 17, 310–17; Grabbe 1991, 320, 366–8.

¹³⁵ *AJ* 14, 117. Philo, *Flacc.* 74, speaks about the γενάρχη.

¹³⁶ 10–12 CE. *AJ* 19, 283; Philo, *Flacc.* 74. Cf. Stern, *GLAJJ* i, no. 105.

¹³⁷ *Ep. ad Afric.* 20 (14), ed. De Lange 1983, p.566; *De princ.* 4.1.3, ed. Koetschau 1913, 297.

¹³⁸ Jacobs 1995, 247.

¹³⁹ Matt 23.34.

11.8–9. The literal meaning of λατρεία is ‘service, servitude, labour’ or ‘worship’ (LSJ, s.v.). It occurs nine times in the LXX¹⁴⁰ and refers, with the exception of 1Macc 1.43, to the worship of the God of Israel in general or to specific services through which this worship is performed.¹⁴¹ In the NT the term is used in a similar sense.¹⁴² It seems then that the expression τῆς λατρείας τῆς γιγνομένης ἐφ’ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τῷ Θεῷ refers either to the Biblical description of the daily service in the Ark of the Covenant and the Jerusalem Temple or, and more likely, to the daily prayers offered by Jews to the God of Israel. This, together with the reference to the Law in 1. 4, might be taken as indicating that Jews exclusively were expected to read the inscription.

11.10–11. References in inscriptions to Jews making up their own epitaphs are extremely rare. The only others from Eastern Europe are epitaphs from Philippi, (*Mac14*), Thessaloniki (*Mac17*) and Oescus, Moesia (*Moes1*). πολλῶν μόχθων in 1.11 probably refers to Joses’ efforts to build his tomb; cf. the phrase ἐκ τῶν ιδείων μόχθων (‘by one’s own efforts’) cited in LSJ, s.v. μόχθος.

Robert (1960) dates the inscription to the 3rd century CE on the basis of Joses’ *nomen*. However, the strong similarities to JIWE i 145 seem to suggest a date fairly close to that (383 CE). At that date, when the Patriarchs in Palestine were particularly strong, a reference to ‘patriarchs’ would probably make the reader think of them.

¹⁴⁰ Exod. 12.25–6; 13.5; JoshB 22.27; 1Chr 28.13; 1Macc 1.43; 2.19, 22; 3Macc 4.14.

¹⁴¹ Exod. 12.25–6, 13.5 refer to the way which the feast of Passover is celebrated.

¹⁴² John 16.2; Rom 9.4, 12.1; Heb 9.1, 6.

*Arcadia***Ach52. Epitaph of Panto**

Editions: Newton 1883, no.149; Reinach 1885, 77 no.5; Oehler 1909, 444 no.112; IG v.1 1913, no.1349; CIJ i 1936, no.721.

Other bibliography: Wilhelm 1909, p.215 no.198; Robert 1937, 81 no.3; Robert 1946, 99–100; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66.

Found in Arcadia. Now: London, British Museum.

Details: Plaque of white marble, 21 x 18 cm., sides slightly bevelled.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd century CE or later.

Text (follows CIJ i 1936):

κυρὰ Πα-
ντῷ θυγ-
ατρὶ Μα-
ρωνίου-
υ. (*menorah*) 5

1. i. κυρία

1–2. Newton: Κυραπαντῷ

Lady Panto, daughter of Maronius.

Newton did not report where exactly the inscription came from, but Reinach noted that the inscription was discovered on Mt. Aleison in Arcadia with no further details about its origin or his source. It was part of the Inwood Collection, belonging to the architect H.W. Inwood (1794–1843) who travelled extensively in Greece. The name Παντῷ is otherwise attested epigraphically only once – in an inscription from Euboea.¹⁴³ Maronius occurs on a Jewish epitaph from Rome.¹⁴⁴ Newton describes the *menorah* as an ‘eight-branched Jewish candlestick’ (presumably a Hanukkah lampstand). The inscription was not dated by the editors.

¹⁴³ IG xii.9, 77.

¹⁴⁴ JIWE ii 338.

Coronea (Korone)

Corenea (Korone) is located in the southeast corner of Messenia near the modern village of Petallidi. The city had a civic status during the Late Roman period and a fragment of Diocletian's price edict was found there. The city was fortified in the 6th-7th century and survived the Slavic attacks during the same period. At some point the whole population of ancient Coronea moved to the town of Asine whose name was accordingly changed to Korone. There is no literary or archaeological evidence for the presence of Jews in Coronea, but according to the fourth century *Vita* of St Hilarion the Hermit composed by Jerome there were Jewish merchants in the near by Methone (cf. Pl. III).¹⁴⁵

Ach53. Ephebic list

Editions: le Bas & Waddington i.2, 1870, no. 305 (ll.1-15); le Bas & Waddington ii.2 1870, 153, no.305; Koumanoudes 1875, 103-7; IG v.1 1913, no.1398; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.721c.

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 100; SEG xi 1954, no.987; Hengel 1974, 68 n.83-4; Bringmann 1983, 83; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Kant 1987, 691, n.121; Williams 1998, no.V.23 (English tr.).

Found at Coronea. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Marble column, 219 x 34 cm, broken into three. The upper part has a waved moulding ornament (*cymatium*). Letters: 1.2-2 cm. The whole inscription consists of 101 lines; ll.20-101 is a list of names.

Language: Greek. Date: 246 CE

Text (follows IG v.1 1913):

ll.1-19.

ἐτους σοξ'

γυμνασίαρχος

Γ(άιος) Κλώ(διος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Κλε-
όβουλος,

Γ(αίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Θεαγέ-
νους υἱός,

5

ὁ προστάτης δι-

ὰ βίου τοῦ κοι-

νοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

ἀρχέφηβος

10

Γ(άιος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Θεαγέννης

¹⁴⁵ Jerome, *Vita S. Hilarionis eremitae*, 48B-C (=PL 23, col. 50).

Κλεοβούλου,
 Γ(αίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Θεαγένους
 ἔγγονος τοῦ αἰ-
 ωνίου πρεσβε[υ-] 15
 τοῦ καὶ λογιστοῦ γε-
 νηθέντος τῆς πό-
 λεως.
 ἔφηβοι οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν

ll. 91–2
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰωσῆς
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰωσῆς

ll.1–19. *Year 277. Gymnasiarch Gaius Clodius Julius Cleobulus, son of Gaius Julius Theagenes, prostates for life of the koinon of the Achaeans. Head of the epheboi, Gaius Julius Theagenes (son) of Cleobulus, grandson of Gaius Julius Theagenes the perpetual presbeutes and appointed logistes of the city. The epheboi under him:*

ll.91–2. *Aurelius Joses, Aurelius Joses*

Le Bas found the upper part of the stele containing ll. 1-15 of the inscription in 1843 in the village of Petalidi in Messenia near the site of ancient Coronea. Koumanoudes recovered the missing parts of the stele from different locations in the same village in the 1870s. The year in l.1 is 277 of the era of Actium, which corresponds to 246 CE (not 131 CE suggested by Le Bas), a date which is fully consistent with the style of the names. Most of the inscription consists of a lengthy list of the ephebes who are presided over by a gymnasiarch and an *archephebos*.

ll.91–2. The ephebes are listed with their Roman names. The two youths called Aurelius Joses are probably the sons of people who gained citizenship through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212. Joses, a form of Joseph, was popular among Jews and occurs, with various spellings, in inscriptions from Venosa¹⁴⁶, Rome¹⁴⁷, Beroea (*Mac8*) and Peratovci (*Dall*). At this date it indicates clearly that the ephebes were of Jewish origin. Jews or persons of Jewish extraction are also found in ephebic lists

¹⁴⁶ JIWE i 43, 59, 88, 90, 94, 103.

¹⁴⁷ JIWE ii 124, 282, 585.

from Iasos (Judas son of Eudos),¹⁴⁸ Cyrene (Elazsar and Agathocles sons of Elazar),¹⁴⁹ and as members of an association of young men (neoterói) from Hypaepa.¹⁵⁰

Mantineia

Mantineia is located in the northern part of the upland plain of modern Tripolis in eastern Arcadia. The city was founded in the 6th-5th century BCE after the synoecism of five villages. In 385 Sparta abolished the democracy of Mantineia and dispersed its citizens to their original villages. After Sparta's defeat at Leuctra the city and its democracy were restored in 370 BCE. Mantineia was one of the founders of the Arcadian League but later fought against Thebes at the battle of 'First Mantineia' in 362 BCE. In 223 BCE the city was destroyed by the Macedonian king Antigonos III Doson and subsequently resettled by the Achaean League under the name Antigonea (221 CE). Many public buildings were renovated during the reign of Augustus. In 125 CE or later the emperor Hadrian restored the ancient name of the city and established a cult and festival in honour of his dead companion Antinous whose home town of Bithynium in Asia Minor claimed to be a Mantinean colony. Mantineia continued to be inhabited in the 6th and 7th centuries.

Ach54. Dedication of Aurelius Elpidis

Editions: Fougères 1896, 159–61 no.27; Lévi 1897, 148–9; SIG ii² 1900, no.897; Oehler 1909, 443 no.111; IG v.2 1913, no.295; SIG iii³ 1920, no.1247; Krauss 1922, 243 no.94; CIJ i 1936, no.720; Schwabe 1945/6, 66–7; Lifshitz 1967, 16–17 no.9; White ii 1997, 359–60 no.75.

Other bibliography: Usener 1900, 291; Kohl & Watzinger 1916, 145; Robert 1937, 81 n.2; Robert 1946, 99 n.3; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 76–7; SEG xi 1954, no.1095; BE 1959, no.459.26; Robert 1960a, 260 n.5; Urdahl 1968, 54; BE 1969, no.53; Revised Schürer 1986, 66; Williams 1998, no.II.74 (English tr.);

¹⁴⁸ Imperial period. Robert 1937, 85–6; Robert 1940, 100–1.

¹⁴⁹ 3/4 CE. CJZC 7a.

¹⁵⁰ CIJ ii 755; Trebilco 1991, 177.

Lampropoulou 1993, 669-70; Rizakis, Zoumbaki & Kantirea 2001, 116, no. 28.

Found at Mantinea. Now: Tegea, Archaeological Museum.

Details: *Cippus* of white marble, 81 x 28 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE.

Text (follows Lifshitz 1967 & BE 1969):

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἑλπίδης
πατήρ λαοῦ
διὰ βίου δῶρον
τό<υ> πρόναου
τῇ συναγωγῇ.

5

There is a Greek T inscribed in the upper part of the stone (Fougères)

2. Small *omicron* between A and Y

3. Small *omicron* between P and N

4. Small *omicron* between A and Y

1. Fougères, Lévi: Ἑλπίδ(η)ς; Lifshitz 1967: Ἑλπιδῶς

4. IG v.2, Krauss, Robert 1960, BE 1969: τὸ πρόναο(ν)

Aurelius Elpidis, father of the people [i.e. the Jewish community] for life, (made) the gift of the pronaos to the synagogue.

The cippus was discovered by Fougères in 1893 among the ruins of a Byzantine chapel located south-east of the theatre in Mantinea. The donor's title and the reference to a synagogue show that it records a Jewish donation. The first editor of the inscription, Fougères, corrected the reading of the cognomen in l.1 Ἑλπιδῶς to Ἑλπίδης. This, however, was rejected by Robert who notes that it most likely is a form of the name Ἑλπίδης, a shortened form of Ἑλπίδιος.¹⁵¹ The interchange of ι for υ was common in the late Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁵²

The title πατήρ λαοῦ was probably similar to πατήρ συναγωγῆς which is often found at Rome.¹⁵³ On λαός as a term for the Jewish community cf. *Achl*.

The term πρόναος designates the space in front of a temple's main body, enclosed by a portico and side walls. A donation of πρόναος is also attested on a

¹⁵¹ Robert 1946, 99 n.3.

¹⁵² Gignac 1976, i 269–71.

¹⁵³ JIWE ii 209, 288, 540, 576, 578.

Jewish inscription, dated to the 5th-6th century CE, from Asia Minor at the Metropolitan Museum in New York.¹⁵⁴

Lifshitz dates the inscription to the 4th century CE on palaeographic grounds. The form of the name is consistent with a 3rd-4th century dating.

Taenarum (Kyparissa) and Sparta

The villages Kyparissa and Alika are located on the west coast of the Mani Peninsula at the site of ancient Taenarum (Caenopolis), not far from Cape Taenarum (Matapan).

There is no epigraphic or archaeological evidence for the presence of Jews in Sparta before the Middle Ages. The director of the Ephorate of Classical Antiquities of Sparta, E. Kourinou-Pikoula, has signalled an unpublished inscription in Hebrew kept at the Archaeological museum of Sparta.¹⁵⁵ The literary evidence for the existence of a Jewish community in Sparta is very dubious. The statement of 1Mac 12.6-18, 12.20-23 and 14.20-3 claiming kinship between the Jews and the Spartans through Abraham is usually taken as evidence that there was a Jewish community in Sparta.¹⁵⁶ However, the correspondence between Onias I and the Spartan king Areus I seem to be a piece of Jewish propaganda, an attempt by the Jews, according to Gruen, 'to assimilate Greeks into their own traditions rather than subordinate themselves to Hellenism'.¹⁵⁷ Thus, it cannot be taken as a proof for the presence of Jews in Hellenistic Sparta.

¹⁵⁴ l. 5. Cf. Ameling 2003, 247-9.

¹⁵⁵ Lampropoulou 1993, 674-5; Lampropoulou 1995, 50-2; Moutzali 1995, 75-80.

Ach55. Epitaph of Justus

Editions: IG v.1 1913, no.1256; Schwabe 1949, 231 no. 20; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.721a.

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 100; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Williams 1998, no.I.36.

Found at Kyparissa. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Plaque of white marble, 62 x 30 x 33 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: uncertain

Text (follows IG v.1 1913):

Ἰοῦστος
Ἀνδρο-
μάχης
Τιβεριεύς.

Justus (son) of Andromache, from Tiberias.

This inscription was discovered in the first half of the 19th century built in one of the walls of the house of Georgios Georgiobretakos in the village of Kyparissa.

This makes it clear that the inscription originated in ancient Taenarum.

Justus was a common Roman name but also frequently used by Jews, probably because of its meaning – righteous (e.g. Josephus' son Justus; Justus ben Sapphias from Tiberias;¹⁵⁸ Joseph Justus also called Barsabbas¹⁵⁹). It occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Beth She'arim,¹⁶⁰ Capernaum,¹⁶¹ Jaffa,¹⁶² Castel Porziano,¹⁶³ Venosa,¹⁶⁴ Taranto,¹⁶⁵ Narbonne¹⁶⁶ and Rome¹⁶⁷. Justus' name is followed by that of his mother rather than his father, possibly because she was the commemorator.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. also Josephus, AJ 12, 225-7.

¹⁵⁷ Grabbe i 1991, 259-63; Gruen 1996, 264.

¹⁵⁸ Josephus, *Vita* 12,66; 27,134; *BJ* 2, 599.

¹⁵⁹ Acts 1.23.

¹⁶⁰ BS ii, nos. 127, 190.

¹⁶¹ Lifshitz 1967, no.75.

¹⁶² JIGRE 148.

¹⁶³ JIWE i 18.

¹⁶⁴ JIWE i 69 (Ἰούστα).

¹⁶⁵ JIWE i 120.

¹⁶⁶ JIWE i 189.

¹⁶⁷ JIWE ii 25, 71, 126, 260, 271, 344, 379, 515, 531, 561; 369 (Iusta).

The masculine form Ἀνδρομάχος occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Berenice in Cyrenaica.¹⁶⁸

Tiberias was not an exclusively Jewish city, but someone using its ethnic could probably expect to be presumed to be Jewish. Jews from Tiberias are found in inscriptions from Senia (*Dal2*), Carthage¹⁶⁹ and Rome.¹⁷⁰ The inscription was not dated by the editors.

Ach56. Epitaph(?) of Jonathan (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4)

Editions: Drandakis 1958, 215–16; Lifshitz 1967, 17 no.9a; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.721b.

Illustrations: Drandakis 1958, 216 no.γ fig.167b (photo); CIJ i², p.107 pl.3 (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1966, no.197; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Lampropoulou 1993, 674–5.

Found at Kyparissa. Present whereabouts unknown.

Details: Plaque of white marble broken on the right, 40 x 39 x 9 cm (Drandakis); 40 x 29 cm (CIJ i²). There is a rectangular hole on the left side of the plaque.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century CE(?).

Text (follows Drandakis 1958 and photo):

Ἰωνάθαν ὃν δ[- - -]
ἀρχοντα γενόμενον? - - -]

Jonathan whom having become(?) archon

Drandakis discovered the inscription in 1958 during excavations of the 6th-century church of St. Peter (Ἅγιος Πέτρος) near the modern village of Kyparissa. It is therefore certain that the inscription originated from Taenarum not from Magna, as noted by Robert in BE. The personal name (an exclusively Jewish one until adopted by Christians) and title together make the inscription almost certainly Jewish.

¹⁶⁸ CJZC 70–1.

¹⁶⁹ Le Bohec 1981, no.28.

¹⁷⁰ JIWE ii 60, 561.

Drandakis notes that the plaque was reused for this inscription, which was written carelessly with unaligned letters of varying size. It is inscribed only on the upper part of the plaque, perhaps to avoid the hole, which comes immediately below l.2. According to Robert the plaque was placed in the local synagogue, but he did not take into account that it was reused for this inscription. Thus, although it originally may have been attached to a building, its secondary use is far from clear, and the truncated and unparalleled wording does not even make clear whether it is an epitaph or the record of a donation or an honour bestowed by the synagogue.

The title *archon* occurs in Jewish inscriptions from all over the Diaspora: Cyrenaica,¹⁷¹ Capua,¹⁷² Elche,¹⁷³ Acmonia in Phrygia,¹⁷⁴ Side,¹⁷⁵ Cyprus¹⁷⁶ and Rome.¹⁷⁷ It is translated generally as 'ruler' or 'leader' and is part of the common Greek civic terminology adopted across the ancient Mediterranean (LSJ s.v.), which was adapted for Jewish use.¹⁷⁸ Frey, following Josephus' usage of the term,¹⁷⁹ suggests the *archons* were members of the council of elders of the Jewish community.¹⁸⁰ According to Leon, their duties were mainly concerned with the secular affairs of the community.¹⁸¹ Van der Horst suggests the *archon* 'was a leading official who probably was elected annually'.¹⁸² In some cases *archon* was an honorary title – this would explain the fact that, according to the epigraphic

¹⁷¹ CJZC 70–2.

¹⁷² JIWE i 20.

¹⁷³ JIWE i 181.

¹⁷⁴ Lifshitz 1967, no.33.

¹⁷⁵ Robert 1958, 36 no.69.

¹⁷⁶ Lifshitz 1967, no.85.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the index of JIWE ii, p.538.

¹⁷⁸ G. Dellling, ἀρχων, TDNT i 488–9.

¹⁷⁹ AJ 4, 218.12, 143; 14, 168–184. Cf. also 1Macc 12.6; 2Macc 1.10, 11.27. On the use of the title in the Second Temple period, cf. Binder 1999, 344–8, 371.

¹⁸⁰ Frey in CIJ i, p.LXXXVII.

¹⁸¹ Leon 1995, 176.

¹⁸² Van der Horst 1991, 89.

evidence, it was conferred upon children (cf. *Mac10*).¹⁸³ Attempts to find a single meaning or function for it assume a misleading degree of uniformity in the Diaspora; it is much more likely that the title was used in a variety of ways at different times and places.

Lifshitz understands Ἰωνάθαν as an accusative form of the name Ἰωνάθας.¹⁸⁴ However, it could also be a direct transliteration of the Hebrew יִנְתָן, without a Greek case ending. The name occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica¹⁸⁵ and Rome.¹⁸⁶

Drandakis dates the inscription to the 3rd century CE on palaeographic grounds.

¹⁸³ Robert 1958, 40–1; *JWE* ii 288, 337.

¹⁸⁴ On the occurrence of the name in the LXX and in inscriptions from Palestine, cf. Ilan 2002, 144–50.

¹⁸⁵ *CJZC* no. 72; app. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *JWE* ii 265, 366.

Chapter 6

Section 4

ACHAEA: Greek islands*Euboea*

The existence of a Jewish community on Euboea in the 1st century CE is mentioned by Philo (*Legatio* 282) in the letter which he says King Agrippa I wrote to Caligula.

Ach57. Epitaph of Euphranor (Pl. XXV, fig. 1)

Editions: Pappadakis 1986/7, 239–40; SEG xxxix 1989, no.933.

Illustration: Pappadakis, pl. 4 (photo).

Found at Chalcis(?), Euboea. Now: Chalcis, Byzantine Collection at the Emir Zade Çamii, inv. no. 269 (old 73).

Details: Marble cippus, 79.5 x 14 x 10 cm.

Letters 3.5–5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–7th century CE.

Text (follows SEG xxxix 1989):

Ευ-	
φρά-	
νορ	
Ποπ-	
λί[? λλι-]	5
ου ·	
ἔλε-	
ως	
τῷ	
λαῶ.	10

4–6. Pappadakis: Ποπλίλλιος or Ποπλιανός

8–9. Pappadakis: ἔλεος

Euphranor (son) of Publius [or Publilius]. Mercy to the people.

Although there is no indication of where the inscription was found it probably originated from Chalcis or the surrounding area. Pappadakis notes that the name

Euphranor is also found in inscriptions from Eretria. The name is a common one (over 200 examples in LGPN), and has the basic meaning of ‘cheering’, ‘pleasant person’. It is written with *omega* instead of *omicron*, and the use of *omicron* here possibly indicates that it should be understood as a vocative, ‘O Euphranor’.

Pappadakis also reconstructs the name in ll.4–6 as Ποπλίλλιος (Publius) or Ποπλιανός (Publianus), with a preference to the former.¹⁸⁷ However, the name can also be interpreted as Πόπλιος the Greek form of the Latin *Publius*, which was one of the most common Roman names adopted into Greek.¹⁸⁸ In a Jewish context *Publius* is found at Aquileia (1st century BCE)¹⁸⁹ and Capua (2nd–4th century CE),¹⁹⁰ and the Greek form appears in inscriptions from Rome¹⁹¹, Cyrene¹⁹², Teucheira¹⁹³ and Cyrenaica.¹⁹⁴

Pappadakis interprets ll.7–10 as an acclamation, a call to the passer-by to show pity and mercy for the deceased. Pleket in SEG, following Robert, considers the term λαός Jewish and explains the phrase as an invocation of God’s mercy to the local Jewish community. On the Jewish use of λαός, cf. *Achl*.

According to Pappadakis the inscription should be dated between 5th and 7th centuries CE.

¹⁸⁷ Pape & Benseler 1911, 1235.

¹⁸⁸ Pape & Benseler 1911, 1235–6.

¹⁸⁹ JIWE i 7.

¹⁹⁰ JIWE i 20.

¹⁹¹ JIWE i 360.

¹⁹² CJZC 13a. This inscription, however, has the Greek transcription of the female form *Publia*.

¹⁹³ CJZC 43a.

¹⁹⁴ CJZC app.19q.

Aegina

Aegina was conquered by the Romans in 211 BCE and given by them to the Aetolians who later sold it for 30 talents to Attalus II of Pergamum. It was returned to Rome in 133 BCE under the will of Attalus III. The island suffered from pirate attacks in the early 1st century BCE and gradually declined. During the early Byzantine period Aegina was again populated and enjoyed some prosperity.

Bibliography for synagogue and mosaic: L. Ross, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* 23/12/1832 (no.358), cols.1499–1500 (=Ross 1863, 139); H. N. Fowler, *AJA* 6 1902, 69; Kohl & Watzinger 1916, 146; Krauss 1922, 243 no.96; G. Welter, *AA* 1932, 164–5; E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 36 1932, 358; Béquignon 1933, 255–6; Sukenik 1934, 44–5, 51; Mazur 1935, 25–33; H. Rosenau, *JPOS* 16 1936, 35; Welter 1938, 47, 63, 110; Sukenik 1945, 31; Sukenik 1949, 21; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 75–6; Goodenough, *Symbols* iii 1953, fig. 881 (plan); Parlasca 1959, 134; Wischitzer 1964, 4–5; Hengel 1966, 161 n.56, 163 n.62; Lazaridis & Chatzidakis 1967, 19; Urdahl 1968, 53; Sodini 1970, 703 n.5; Pelekanides & Atzeka 1974, i 100–1 no.75, pl.68; Pallas 1977, 14 no.8d; Kraabel 1979, 507; Foerster 1981, 166–7; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72; White ii 1997, 356 no.74; Hachlili 1998, 25, 30–1, figs. 11–12 (plan); 198–9, fig. A.

The synagogue is located in the vicinity of the harbour of ancient Aegina.¹⁹⁵ It was excavated in 1928 under the direction of Welter and Sukenik, but found in poor condition, with only a few parts of the original walls preserved. The synagogue is a rectangular building with an apse on its eastern wall (diameter 5.5 m; Pl. VI).¹⁹⁶ There were no traces of the foundation wall on its west side. The building consists of a single hall filled entirely by the mosaic floor (Mazur, 13 x 7.6 m; Welter 1938, 13.5 x 7.6 m). The design of the mosaic is geometrical and according to Goodenough its border 'is occupied by a series of swastikas with curved arms like whirl rosettes; some of the swastikas turn clockwise, some counterclockwise. In the centre of each

¹⁹⁵ Mazur 1935, 30–1.

¹⁹⁶ Sukenik 1934, 44; Mazur 1935, 26; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 75, iii fig. 881.

swastika is a design of crossed loops.¹⁹⁷ The inner field of the mosaic is a running motif of alternating ovals and circles. At the outer edge is a rolling design that Miss Mazur calls lotus, but on the eastern edge along the apse is a pattern of ivy, broken at the centre with a patch of plain white tesserae.¹⁹⁸

The mosaic reaches right up to the walls and there is no indication that there were stone benches attached to the walls in the hall. Mazur suggests that there were wooden benches or mats.¹⁹⁹ At the eastern edge of the mosaic floor there is a white mosaic strip with square shape measuring 150 by 35 cm. Mazur suggested that a *bema* was placed in the apse, in front of the Ark, covering the white strip. Wischintzer, however, notes that the strip was most probably used as a safety mark indicating the spot where the stairs leading to the Ark began.²⁰⁰ However, since direct evidence was not found, the presence of such a construction remains uncertain.²⁰¹ The entrance to the synagogue hall is marked on the west by the mosaic inscriptions (*Ach58-9*).

The excavations conducted by Welter and Mazur in 1932 revealed the remains of an earlier edifice with the same orientation as the synagogue. An earlier wall was discovered running parallel to the west end of the synagogue mosaic (W1). According to Mazur the space between the surviving parts of that wall probably marks the place where the main entrance of the building stood.²⁰² A second wall was found at the same level, lying beneath the north wall of the synagogue (W2). According to Mazur it extends for 3 m. westward and then connects to another wall with a south-west direction, thus forming the narthex of the earlier building. At the same level, along the

¹⁹⁷ These are the design usually referred to as 'Solomon's knot', also found in synagogue mosaics at, for example, Ostia and Bova Marina.

¹⁹⁸ Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 75.

¹⁹⁹ Mazur 1935, 27.

²⁰⁰ Wischintzer 1964, 4.

²⁰¹ In his description of the site, Goodenough (ii 76) exaggerates considerably on this issue, assuming a Torah shrine in the apse, with a curtain covering its entrance and a menorah flanking it on each side.

²⁰² Mazur 1935, 27. Goodenough (ii 75) suggests three entrances, but there is no archaeological evidence to prove this.

west wall of the synagogue, a pavement of quadrangular red tiles was found by the excavators.²⁰³ The pavement is divided in two parts by a wall (W3) perpendicular to the west wall of the synagogue. Mazur suggests that the coincidence in the direction of W2 and the north wall of the later synagogue proves the existence of an earlier synagogue.²⁰⁴ She also suggests that the earlier walls were from a chamber attached to the earlier building to serve as women's quarters. However, the site did not yield sufficient evidence to support this suggestion, and there is no reason to assume that the synagogue would have had a separate area for women.²⁰⁵ Mazur's idea is apparently based on the presumption that the site was under Jewish ownership for a long period, but this is uncertain. The architectural plan of the late building recalls immediately the building of the synagogue at Elche in Spain²⁰⁶ and the Palestinian synagogues of the 4th–6th centuries: Ma'on, Jericho, Beth Alpha, Ma'oz Hayim, Gerasa, Na'aran, Hammat Gader and Gaza.²⁰⁷ The addition of an apse was very common in synagogue architecture from the 4th century CE onwards, and the one at Aegina was orientated roughly towards Jerusalem. The limited nature of the excavation makes it impossible to determine the exact nature of the building, which preceded the synagogue with the apse and mosaic floor. If there was an earlier synagogue, it probably had an assembly hall and additional rooms clustered around it. The inscription shows that Theodorus was responsible for a complete rebuilding, but does not indicate whether he was replacing an earlier synagogue.

Mazur dates the building on basis of the inscriptions to 300–350 CE, on palaeographic grounds. She further suggests that it was destroyed in the 5th century

²⁰³ Mazur 1935, 26–7.

²⁰⁴ Mazur 1935, 27 followed recently by Hachlili 1998, 30.

²⁰⁵ Mazur 1935, 32 n.4.

²⁰⁶ *JWE* i, nos. 180–2; Hachlili 1998, 45–7, 205–7, 407–8.

²⁰⁷ Hachlili 1988, 143–64, 181–2, figs. 4, 9.

CE.²⁰⁸ The latter date is based on the date of the graves, pertaining to the graveyard of the adjacent Byzantine church. These graves, found in the cavities of the north wall of the synagogue, were part of a large Christian necropolis and dated to the 6th century CE by Mazur and to the 7th by Blegen. The reuse of synagogue buildings for Christian purposes in the 5th century is well attested in archaeology and literature; cf. Stobi (*MacI*).²⁰⁹

Ach58. Mosaic inscription of Theodorus (Pl. XXV, fig. 2)

Editions: CIG iv 1859, no.9894b; Levy 1861, 272, 297 no.12-5; Schürer 1879, 25–8, 41 no.45; IG iv 1902, no.190; Oehler 1909, 444 no.114b; Krauss 1922, 243 no.96; Sukenik 1934, 44–5; Mazur 1935, 25–8; CIJ i 1936, no.722; Lifshitz 1967, 13–14 no.1.

Illustrations: Sukenik 1934, pl. 11; Mazur 1935, pls.iv–v; Lazaridis & Chatzidakis 1967, pl.19, pl.122a.²¹⁰

Other bibliography: Reinach 1886, 241; Reinach 1886a, 332 n.2; Kohl & Watzinger 1916, 146; G. Welter, *AA* 1932, 164–5; Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 102; BE 1951, no. 95; SEG xi 1954, no.46; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 75–6; Robert 1958, 39 n.4; Robert 1964, 49 n.3; Lazaridis & Chatzidakis 1967, 19, 161; Urdahl 1968, 53; BE 1969, no.53; Stambaugh 1978, 600; Kraabel 1979, 507; Rajak & Noy 1993, 91 no.17; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72; Kant 1987, 677, n.23, 27; White 1997, ii 356–8; Hachlili 1998, 25, 30–1; Williams 1998, no.II.63 (English tr.).

Found at Aegina. Now: Aegina, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Mosaic inscription set in a *tabula ansata*.

Language: Greek. Date: 300–350 CE.

Text (follows Lifshitz 1967):

Θεόδωρος ἀρχ[ισυνάγωγ(ος) φ]ροντίσας ἔτη τέσσερα
ἐχ θεμελίων τὴν σ[υνάγωγ(ήν)] οἰκοδόμησα προσοδεύθ<ησαν>
χρῦσινοι πε' καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ δωρεῶν χρῦσινοι ρε'.

1. Small *omicron* after ε in Θεόδωρος, after ρ in φ]ροντίσας

2. CIG: ΠΡΟΟΔΕΥC on the mosaic

3. CIG: PEs on the mosaic

3. Small *omicron* after τ in τοῦ

3. Θ(εο)ῦ: ΘΥ with bar over *theta* on mosaic

1. CIG: ἀρχ[ισυνάγωγος φ]ροντίσας

2. I. ἐκ

2. CIG: συνάγ[ωγ(ήν)]; προσοδεύθ[ησαν]

3. CIG: χρῦσιν[οι] ρε'; θε(οῦ); ρο'

²⁰⁸ Mazur 1935, 29–30; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 76.

²⁰⁹ It is not impossible that the synagogue mosaic was re-used in the new Christian edifice.

²¹⁰ A photograph of Ach58–59 provided by Elias Messinas is at:

<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/greece/>

Theodorus, archisynagogos, phrontistes for four years, built the synagogue from the foundations. 85 gold coins were received, and 105 gold coins from the gifts of God.

This inscription and *Ach59* were found in 1829 in the outskirts of modern Aegina, in a partly preserved mosaic pavement. To prevent further damage the mosaic was covered again, but unearthed in 1901 and 1904 as part of the archaeological exploration of the island. However, until the excavations in 1932 conducted by Welter and Mazur (see above) the ground plan of the building remained unexplored.

The inscription recording Theodorus' foundation is set in a *tabula ansata* and located in the west end of the mosaic floor. After the discovery of the mosaic floor in 1829, the inscription suffered further damage and some parts of its text were lost. The reconstruction of the lacuna in 1.2 is based on the publication of the inscription in CIG and IG.

The title *φροντιστής* was not exclusively Jewish, but occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Porto (4th century)²¹¹, Rome (3rd–4th century?),²¹² Caesarea (6th century)²¹³ and Side (5th–6th century CE).²¹⁴ Robert translates the title as 'curator' and notes its frequent occurrence in the public administration in Greece, Asia Minor and Syria during the late Roman period.²¹⁵ Frey suggests that the Jewish *φροντιστής* was a supervisor of communal property, but there is no direct evidence of this.²¹⁶ White translates the title as 'steward' and considers its holder an 'overseer' of the reconstruction work of the synagogue building or 'treasurer' of the Jewish congregation in Aegina.²¹⁷ Noy notes that the verb *φροντίζω* usually designates someone who, in general, has to 'supervise' or 'oversee' and sometimes corresponds

²¹¹ JIWE i, no. 17.

²¹² JIWE ii, no. 164; 540.

²¹³ Lifshitz 1967, 51–52, no. 66.

²¹⁴ Lifshitz 1967, 38, no. 37.

²¹⁵ Robert 1958, 39, n. 3.

to the Latin *curator* and the Greek ἐπιμελητής. Sophocles equates the title to προστάτης.²¹⁸ Since Theodorus was *archisynagogos* at the same time, he was clearly a leader or the leader of the community. The special arrangement that he served as φροντιστής for four years might indicate that the position was created specifically to oversee the building programme.

The description of the building programme uses normal epigraphic language, but the sources of funds are more unusual. The concluding formula ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεῶν occurs also in Sardis in the form ἐκ τῶν δωρεῶν τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ; in that inscription the donors are named, so the formula is not intended to give anonymity.²¹⁹ However, the funds in Aegina apparently been divided into two categories. There are two possible interpretations of these categories: that the first one is general synagogue funds and the other a special collection, or that first one was the individual contribution of Theodorus and the second specially collected from the community members. The verb προσοδεύω means in its middle voice 'to receive income' according to LSJ, and in the passive 'to be received as revenue' (LSJ) or 'to yield income' (Sophocles, s.v.); it might therefore be appropriate for regular revenue. The unit of currency used, χρύσινος, is the equivalent of the *aureus* or *solidus* (LSJ suppl., s.v.).²²⁰

Ach59. Mosaic inscription of Theodorus the Younger

Editions: CIG iv 1859, no.9894a; Levy 1861, 272, 297, no.12-5; IG iv 1902, no.190; Oehler 1909, 444 no.114; Krauss 1922, 243 no.96; Sukenik 1934, 44-5; Mazur 1935, 28-9; CIJ i 1936, no.723; Lifshitz 1967, 14 no.2.

Illustrations: Sukenik 1934; Mazur 1935, pls. iv-v.

²¹⁶ CIJ i 1936, xcii.

²¹⁷ White ii 1997, 357, n. 130.

²¹⁸ Sophocles 1914, 1152.

²¹⁹ Kroll 2001, no.29. The same abbreviation for 'God' is used at Sardis and Aegina.

²²⁰ Cod.Just. 6.4.4.10, which is in Greek, uses χρυσίνους. Cf. IG vii 26 (Megara). My immediate thanks go to Dr. David Noy, University of Wales, Lampeter for his insightful comments on this section.

Other bibliography: Schürer 1879, 25–8; Welter 1932, 164–5; Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 102; BE 1951, no.95; SEG xi 1954, no.46; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 75–6; Robert 1960, 394 no.5; Robert 1964, 49 no.3; Urdahl 1968, 53; Kraabel 1979, 507; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 72; White 1997, ii 356–8; Hachlili 1998, 25, 30–1; Williams 1998, no. II.40 (English tr.).

Found at Aegina. Now: Aegina, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Mosaic inscription set in a *tabula ansata*.

Language: Greek. Date: 300–350 CE.

Text (follows Lifshitz 1967):

Θεοδώρου νεω(τέ)ρ(ου) φροντίζοντ(ος) [ἐκ τῆς πρ]ο[σ]όδου τῆς
συναγ(ωγῆ)ς ἐμουσώθη. εὐλογία πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰσ[ε]ρχ[ο]μένοις.

1. Small *omicron* after ρ in Θεοδώρου; after ρ and ζ in φροντίζοντ(ος); after σ and δ in πρ]ο[σ]όδου
2. CIG: CYNAs on the mosaic
2. Small *omicron* after μ in ἐμουσώθη

1. CIG: νεω[κ](ρόν); [ἐκ --- καὶ προσ]όδου
2. CIG: [τοῖς παρεσ]χ[η]μένοις; Sukenik: [παρεσχημέ]νοις

When Theodorus the younger was phrontistes, the mosaic was laid down from the revenue of the synagogue. Blessing upon all who enter.

This inscription is set immediately above *Ach58*, separated from it by a band of Solomon's knots and 'swastikas'. Someone entering the building would read it after *Ach58*. On the synagogue in general and the dating, see above.

Theodorus the younger also held the title of φροντιστής and was responsible for the completion of the mosaic floor of the synagogue. He was, therefore, most probably also responsible for the two inscriptions commemorating his colleague's and his own involvement. He was probably, as White suggests, a relative of the Theodorus in *Ach34*, perhaps his son.²²¹ ἐμουσώθη in l. 2 is a form of μουσειόω - the verb here is used in an impersonal passive construction, which maintains the anonymity of the contributors also found in *Ach58*. πρόσοδος can mean both 'approach' and 'revenue', but in the context it almost certainly refers to the source of the funds rather than the area where the mosaic was installed. On the final greeting formula, see *Thr1*.

Delos

In the 6th century BCE Delos was purified by the Athenians who probably also built a temple of Apollo. Delos was the centre and treasury of the Delian League until 454 BCE when Athens assumed control over the island and the sanctuary of Apollo. In 422 BCE the population of Delos was exiled by the Athenians on a charge of impurity but was soon recalled. The Athenian domination lasted until the foundation of the League of Islanders in 314 BCE by Antigonos I (382–301 BCE). Independent Delos was a city-state, ruled by an *archon* and a board of *hieropoioi* (religious officials of the sanctuary of Apollo). Delos remained independent until 166 BCE when Romans transferred it to Athenian control. The population was again exiled and replaced by Athenian *cleruchs* (colonists who kept their original citizenship). The island was made a free port and prospered through its growing slave trade. Delos was sacked in 88 BCE by Archelaus, general of Mithridates VI, and in 69 BCE by pirates. By the end of the 1st century BCE its importance as a sanctuary and a commercial centre gradually declined and Pausanias, writing in the 2nd century CE, states that at his time the island was nearly abandoned.²²² Only a small community remained on the island during the late-Roman and Byzantine periods.

The presence of Jews in the island is suggested by 1Macc 15.23, which lists Delos as one of the places where the Romans sent a letter of friendship in 139 BCE. Josephus lists two decrees from around 49 BCE issued by the Roman consul L. Cornelius Lentulus and by Julius Caesar, which re-affirmed the exemption of the local Jews from military service and recognised their right to live according to their customs.²²³

²²¹ White 1997, ii 358–9 n.133.

²²² Pausanias 8.33.

²²³ Josephus 14.213–16; 231–2.

Bibliography for "synagogue": Plassart 1913, 201–15; Plassart 1914, 523–6; Risom 1913, 258–9, pl.12 (*thronos*); Juster 1914, i 497–9; G. Karo, *AA* 1914, 153–4; Kohl & Watzinger 1916, 138–41, 144, 183, 195; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; E. Sukenik, *Tarbiz* 1 1929/30, 145–7 no.1; Krauss 1930, 388; R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Menorah* 8 1930, 553–4; L. Rost, *PJb* 29 1933, 58 n.1, 60 nn.1,3; Sukenik 1934, 37–40, 61 (plan); Mazur 1935, 15–24; Deonna 1938, 7–9; Kittel 1944, 16–17; Sukenik 1949, 21–2; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 71–5; Goodenough, *Symbols* iii 1953, figs. 874–6; Th. Kraus, *Jdl* 69 1954, 32; Schwank 1955, 270; Robert 1958, 44 n.7; Daux 1963, 873–4, figs.1–4 (findings from the cistern); Kretschmar 1963, 297 n.2; Hengel 1966, 161 n.53; Urdahl 1968, 53–4; Bruneau 1970, 480–5, pls. VIII–IX, plans A–H; Kraabel 1979, 491–4, 504; Busink 1980, 1367; Foerster 1981, 166; Levine 1981, 1; Riesner 1981, 136; Shanks 1979, 43–4, 178 n.13; Bruneau 1982, 489–99; Diebner 1986, 147–55; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70–1; White 1987, 137–40, 147–55; Prigent 1990, 13, 36–7; Rahmani 1990, 193, 203; McLean 1996, 191–5; Rutgers 1996, 94; White i 1997, 64–7; ii 332–9 no.70; Hachlili 1998, 35–9; 403; Binder 1999, 299–316.

The building (GD 80) generally considered the synagogue of Delos was discovered in 1912–13 during archaeological excavations on the island conducted by André Plassart. Philippe Bruneau conducted a second excavation of the site in 1962. The building is situated on the eastern seashore of Delos, a short distance from the harbour of Ghournia. It is located in what appears to be a residential quarter, close to the stadium and the gymnasium.²²⁴ It is a rectangular building (15.5 x 28.15 m.) with a façade oriented towards the east (Pl. VI). Originally, it consisted of one large hall (A/B) measuring 16.90 by 14.40 m. on the interior,²²⁵ with three entrances from the east. The floor of the hall is partly covered with small pieces of marble. Mazur notes a platform (2 x 2 m.) in the centre of the room, which she thought served as base for a statue or a shrine, but this was not confirmed by Bruneau's excavations.²²⁶ According to White, the exterior walls of the building show a homogenous construction 'with regular courses of gneiss ca. 69–71 cm. thick.'²²⁷ The areas to the west, north and south of the building have never been excavated, but according to the plans supplied

²²⁴ The numbering system applied is that of Bruneau & Ducat 1965: *GD* 76 – gymnasium; *GD* 77–8 – stadium; *GD* 79 – residential buildings.

²²⁵ White (1987) gives slightly different measurements: 16.90 x 15.04 m.

²²⁶ Mazur 1935, 17–18.

by Bruneau and White there are traces of walls on the exterior side of the north wall. An additional room (D) divided into several chambers (c.9.5–10.2 x 15.055 m.) was attached to the main hall on the south.²²⁸ The building had a roofed portico (C) including a row of columns that run parallel to the façade and were arranged on a stylobate (column foundation wall) that measures 18.05 by 0.725 m and is in 5 m. from the façade of the building.²²⁹ The portico was accessed from the south through an entrance (c.1.2 m. wide) located about 2 m. east of the building's façade. Near the south end of the stylobate there are remains, which White convincingly identified as parts of a three-stepped stair that once connected the roofed portico area (C) with the court.²³⁰ There are also the remains of foundations of two additional stylobates (a & d) attached to the first one on the north and south.²³¹ Mazur, basing herself on Plassart's data and her own observations, suggested that the building had a peristyle forecourt. This was criticised by Bruneau who thought that the foundation remains attached to the long stylobate were actually foundations of walls.²³² Bruneau's assumption has been challenged by White, who suggests that the building had a truncated tristoa (three-sided portico) arrangement of the court.²³³ However, neither of the two suggestions can be proven beyond doubt. White's observations on the length of the side walls and stylobates are based mainly on Bruneau's plans and his own visit to the site in 1986.²³⁴ However, since the first excavations in 1912–13 the building has

²²⁷ White 1987, 147.

²²⁸ White 1987, 138–9; White 1997, 336.

²²⁹ The length of the stylobate given by White (1987, 149) is 18.08 m. The stylobate is c.5 m. from the east wall of the building. Plassart suggests that the stylobate extended along the entire east wall, but this was refuted by Mazur and Bruneau. Cf. Plassart 1914, 524–5; Mazur 1935, 17; Bruneau 1970, 483.

²³⁰ White 1987, 151, n. 73 *contra* Bruneau 1987, 497 who dismisses them as later additions.

²³¹ The stylobates are c.5 m. from the north and south walls respectively. Bruneau argues that these structures are later additions, but White has established that they are contemporary to the long stylobate. Cf. White 1987, 150.

²³² Bruneau 1970, 483. Cf. also Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 72.

²³³ White 1987, 150–1; Kraabel 1979, 494 n.57, 504.

²³⁴ Bruneau, followed by White, records that in 1962 the side stylobates ran eastwards approximately for 5–6 m. (5.01 on the north and 4.92 on the south according to White) and that the walls ran in the

suffered additional damage due to the erosion caused by the sea. Bruneau and White did not take this into account. Binder notes 'there are no tristoas among the excavated remains at Delos. Hence, White's reconstruction lacks a local architectural parallel.'²³⁵ He seems to align with Mazur's view, although not openly supporting it, that the building had a peristyle court. She suggests that the north and south stylobates extended 18 m. eastward where they met with a fourth stylobate thus forming a peristyle court (18 x 18 m.). Accordingly the north and south walls extended 28 m. in the same direction and were met by a fourth wall. She also speculates that there was a cistern in the unexcavated area of the court.²³⁶ The large size of the peristyle, however, posed a major problem to Mazur and she suggested there were additional rooms attached to south of room D and the south wall. Her suggestion is tentatively based on the plan of the 'House of the Poseidoniasts' (GD 57).²³⁷ Thus, both Mazur and White's reconstruction remain hypothetical until further excavations of the site are conducted.

The exact purpose of the chambers in room D is not clear, as they do not have a direct connection to the main hall or between each other. The plans of Mazur²³⁸, Bruneau²³⁹ and White²⁴⁰ have an entrance in the eastern wall of room D, but as Binder has noted this is actually a break in the wall (c.0.35 m.), which can hardly be an

same direction for 12.6 m. on the south and about 15 m. on the north. The beach is at about 15 m. distance from the long stylobate. Cf. Bruneau 1970, 482-3, pl.A; White 1987, 149-51. However, Plassart and Mazur give different figures. According to Plassart, the north wall extended eastwards for more than 15 m. and the south wall for more than 28 m. Cf. Plassart 1914, 524. Mazur, however, states that the north wall extended eastwards for 28 m. and the south for 15 m. Cf. Mazur 1935, 17. On the plan published by Plassart (1914, 522), the beach is at a distance of c. 26 m. from the long stylobate, i.e. about c.31-2 m. from the east wall of the building. Cf. further Binder 1999, 310-1.

²³⁵ Binder 1999, 311.

²³⁶ Mazur 1935, 17.

²³⁷ Mazur 1935, 18-19.

²³⁸ Mazur 1935, pls.i & ii.

²³⁹ Bruneau 1970, pl.B.

²⁴⁰ White 1987, figs.2, 5.

entrance.²⁴¹ White and Binder also suggest that the chambers were accessed from the roof or from a second storey and that they were used as storage compartments.²⁴² The north-west chamber of room D has access to a vaulted water cistern, which extends under the floor of the main hall. The arch supporting the cistern is incorporated in the wall separating room D from the main hall (A/B) and rises about 30 cm above the floor. Bruneau notes that this construction allowed human access to the cistern, perhaps, through a wooden ladder or stairs, a unique feature found only in House IIA but not in the other cisterns, usually covered reservoirs, on Delos.²⁴³ He suggests that the cistern was used for ritual cleansing (a *miqveh*), but this seems unlikely.²⁴⁴ Bruneau, followed by White and Binder, dates the original construction of the building to the 2nd century BCE.²⁴⁵

Some time after 88 BCE, possibly in the middle of the 1st century BCE, the building underwent a major renovation. The date is based on the spolia, including four inscriptions, from the nearby gymnasium (GD 76) used in or found near the renovated walls of the building.²⁴⁶ The gymnasium, like most of the island of Delos, suffered heavy damage during the Mithridatic raids of 88 BCE. The renovation involved partition of the main hall (A/B) into two almost identical large rooms (A = 7.85 x 14.90 m.; B = 8.22 x 14.90 m.). The east wall of the building was also repaired. The central portal of the old main hall was walled up to allow the construction of a dividing wall. The dividing wall has three doorways allowing direct communication between rooms A and B. Both rooms were equipped with marble benches. Room A

²⁴¹ Binder 1999, 301, n.133.

²⁴² White 1987, 148; Binder 1999, 301.

²⁴³ Bruneau 1970, 490–1; Bruneau 1982, 499–502, figs.14–17.

²⁴⁴ Bruneau 1970, 490–1.

²⁴⁵ Bruneau 1982, 495–7; White 1987, 151; Binder 1999, 299.

²⁴⁶ IG xi 1087 (base of a statue of Sosilos); IG xi 1152 (base of a statue of the gymnasiarch Oineus) dated after 170 BCE; I.Délös 1923*bis* (base of a statue of the gymnasiarch Theodosius) dated 126/5 BCE; I.Délös 1928 (base of a statue of the gymnasiarch Poses) dated 111/10 BCE. Bruneau 1982, 496–7.

has benches on its north and west walls and a carved marble *thronos* on the west wall. There also are benches on the west and south walls of room B and at the north-western corner of the roofed portico (C). The arrangement of the benches suggests that they were placed after the reconstruction of the building. Binder notes a stone water basin (45 x 32 cm) placed between two of the benches at 3.51 m. distance from the north-western corner of the roofed portico.²⁴⁷ He further suggests that the basin was used for ritual cleansings, but this seems to be a far-fetched conclusion as we do not know when and how the basin was put into its present location in the first place. The *thronos* is placed at the exact centre of the western wall of room A and is decorated with a palmette on its back and lion's feet motifs on the sides.²⁴⁸ It has been suggested that the *thronos* was similar to the so-called 'Seat of Moses' referred to in Mt 23.2 and reserved for the leaders of the Jewish community.²⁴⁹ Thus, Rahmani suggests that the Delos *thronos* was preserved for the chairman of the Jewish court on the island.²⁵⁰ However, as Risom²⁵¹, followed by Mazur²⁵², Bruneau²⁵³ and White, has noted the *thronos* is almost identical to the *proedros*-chairs (reserved for the presidents) found in the Greek theatres and gymnasiums. White suggests further on that following the Greek practice the *thronos* was preserved for the patron or for the president of a collegial association or guild.²⁵⁴ It should be noted, however, that we do not have evidence for the provenance and the date of the *thronos*. It was, most likely, placed in room A after the renovation of the building. The possibility that it was brought from the near-by gymnasium together with the other spolia used in the

²⁴⁷ Binder 1999, 303, 306.

²⁴⁸ Binder (1999, 306) suggests the palmette was exclusively connected to the Jerusalem Temple, but this cannot be ascertain.

²⁴⁹ Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 74; Kraabel 1979, 491-4; Binder 1999, 306.

²⁵⁰ Rahmani 1990, 203.

²⁵¹ Risom 1913, 258-9.

²⁵² Mazur 1935, 20.

²⁵³ Bruneau 1970, 492.

²⁵⁴ White 1987, 153 n.81.

renovation of the building should not be ignored. White notes a small niche (18 x 25 cm.) on the wall north of the *thronos*, which Binder considers a receptacle for Torah scrolls. However, the addition of Torah niches is normally a later feature of synagogue architecture.

Among the miscellaneous artefacts found in GD 80 are 41 lamps dated between the 1st century BCE and the 3rd century CE.²⁵⁵ Among the images represented on them are a griffin,²⁵⁶ centaur,²⁵⁷ stag,²⁵⁸ bull,²⁵⁹ figure of a boxer,²⁶⁰ a male and female figure in erotic poses,²⁶¹ figures of Nike,²⁶² Athena²⁶³ and a Maenad,²⁶⁴ etc (Pl. XXIX, fig. 1). Three antefixes in the form of palmettes, a marble lintel and a number of jugs were recovered from the cistern.²⁶⁵ The building existed at least until the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century CE, the date of the last types of clay lamps found there, and was later used by lime-burners whose kiln is still visible in the centre of Room A.²⁶⁶

There have been several proposals for the date of construction of the building. Plassart thought that it was built after the destruction of Delos by Mithridates in 88 BCE.²⁶⁷ Mazur assumed, however, that the building was built some time before 88 BCE, repaired soon afterwards, but then again destroyed during the second war between Rome and Mithridates in 69 BCE. She attributes the second renovation of the building to 58 BCE, i.e. after Pompey's successful operations against the pirates in

²⁵⁵ Bruneau 1970, 484–5.

²⁵⁶ Bruneau 1965, 124 no.4578, pl.29.

²⁵⁷ Bruneau 1965, 124 no.4581, pl.29.

²⁵⁸ Bruneau 1965, 125 no.4584, pl.29.

²⁵⁹ Bruneau 1965, 125 no.4588, pl.29.

²⁶⁰ Bruneau 1965, 126 no.4590, pl.29.

²⁶¹ Bruneau 1965, 126 no.4591, pl.29.

²⁶² Bruneau 1965, 123 no.4576, pl.29.

²⁶³ Bruneau 1965, 127 nos.4600–1, pl.29.

²⁶⁴ Bruneau 1965, 127 no.4598, pl.29.

²⁶⁵ Daux 1963, 873–5, figs.1–5.

²⁶⁶ Bruneau 1965, 133–4, nos.4645–9, 4650–1, 4653–4, 4660, pl.31; Bruneau 1970, 485.

²⁶⁷ Plassart 1914, 532.

the area.²⁶⁸ Bruneau suggests, convincingly, a 2nd century BCE date for the construction of the building and a post-88 BCE date for its renovation.²⁶⁹ White agrees with Bruneau, but proposes two subsequent renovations of the building. According to him the first one took place well before 88 BCE and included 'embellishment of the Portico (likely including a tristoa and stair) and perhaps the partitioning of Room A/B.'²⁷⁰ The second renovation occurred after the Mithridatic raids and included the rebuilding of the partitioning wall of the great hall (A/B).²⁷¹ Although noting the existing difference between the masonry of the partitioning wall and the renovated section of the east wall, White proposes two phases of renovation mainly to support his claim that the building was originally a domestic residence.²⁷² Goodenough was the first to introduce this idea, comparing it to the synagogue at Dura-Europos.²⁷³ However, as Mazur and, recently, Binder have shown, this claim is not supported by the archaeological data and the architectural plan of the building.²⁷⁴ The dimensions of the great hall (A/B), the length of the stylobate at portico C, which presupposes columns with an approximate height of more than 5 m., are just too grand for a domestic building.²⁷⁵ Private homes with such dimensions have not been excavated on Delos so far.²⁷⁶ Thus, it is safe to accept Bruneau's proposal for two phases in the building history of GD 80, which, most likely, was built and functioned as a public building.

²⁶⁸ Mazur 1935, 19.

²⁶⁹ Bruneau 1982, 495–7.

²⁷⁰ White 1987, 151.

²⁷¹ White 1987, 152.

²⁷² White (1987, 151–2; 1996, i 64; 1997, ii 336–7) relates the first renovation of the building to the reference in 1Macc 15.15–23 to the presence of a Jewish community on Delos, and the second renovation to the edict of Julius Caesar, preserved in Josephus, *AJ* 14.10.8, 14 (213–14).

²⁷³ Goodenough *Symbols* 1953, ii 73, followed by Kraabel 1979, 493; Kee 1995, 495–6; Meyers 1996, 13; Rutgers 1996, 94.

²⁷⁴ Binder 1999, 307.

²⁷⁵ Binder 1999, 307–9.

²⁷⁶ Bruneau & Ducat 1965, 34–6.

Plassart identified the building as a synagogue solely on the basis of the dedications to Theos Hypsistos and Hypsistos found in situ during the excavations in 1912–13.²⁷⁷ He then suggested that the partition of the main hall (A/B) indicated a separation of the sexes within the Jewish community. Goodenough thought that the women stood in the area of the roofed portico C. Later scholars have described room A as an ‘assembly hall’ and room B as a ‘banquet hall’.²⁷⁸ It has been debated whether the building was originally built as a synagogue or became a synagogue after its renovation.²⁷⁹ Following the discovery of two Samaritan honorific inscriptions (*Ach*66–7) 92.5 m. from the building in 1979, Kraabel suggested that it was possibly a Samaritan synagogue.²⁸⁰ Bruneau follows Plassart and describes GD 80 as the synagogue of the ‘orthodox’ Jews, but also identifies a second Jewish residence in House IIA next to the stadium of Delos.²⁸¹ None of these suggestions, however, have proven convincing. It is true that the internal arrangement of the building suggests it was used for communal gatherings of some sort of association or guild. Hence, we might find instructive the observation of Mitchell that the building was, most probably, designed for the cult of Theos Hypsistos.²⁸² Mitchell does not reject the identification of the building as a synagogue, but notes that ‘we should not neglect the point that the sanctuary is also a Greek one, containing dedications set up by persons with Greek names for Theos Hypsistos.’ Lamps bearing pagan, but not Jewish, images were found among the remains of the putative synagogue. There are only three lamps from Delos, dated to the 6th–7th century CE, bearing the image of a *menorah* and they

²⁷⁷ Plassart 1914, 526–30.

²⁷⁸ Binder 1999, 314–15.

²⁷⁹ Bruneau 1982, 497; White 1987, 151–2; Binder 1999, 314.

²⁸⁰ Kraabel 1984, 333, followed by McLean 1996, 191–5, and currently by Binder according to his website (<http://faculty.smu.edu/dbinder/delos.html>).

²⁸¹ Bruneau 1982, 488, 499–504. Cf. *Ach*65.

²⁸² Mitchell 1999, 98.

were not found in GD 80 (Pl. XXIX, fig. 2).²⁸³ Kraabel and Mitchell have stressed the importance of the lamps and torches for the cult of Theos Hypsistos.²⁸⁴ For example, in the sanctuary of the deity discovered at Serdica in Thrace two limestone altars with four lamps carved on their upper surface were found.²⁸⁵ Moreover, two of the bases with dedications to Theos Hypsistos found in the building have small round holes on their upper surface with traces of lead, which Mazur considered to be parts of metallic figures.²⁸⁶ The dedications also do not differ in content and form from the other known dedications to Theos Hypsistos, Zeus Hypsistos or Hypsistos – they refer to healing through Gods miraculous intervention (*Ach62*) and, most probably, to a successful manumission (*Ach64*).²⁸⁷ However, the occurrence of Theos Hypsistos in two clearly Jewish epitaphs from Rheneia (*Ach70-1*) and the fact that it is not evidenced elsewhere on Delos²⁸⁸ makes the idea that GD 80 was used by a purely pagan association less plausible. The Rheneia epitaphs date to same period as three of the dedications from GD 80 and House IIA (*Ach62-3*, *Ach65*) and indicate that Theos Hypsistos was an accepted description of the God of Israel among the Jews on Delos.²⁸⁹ Although an independent sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos existed on Mt Cythus it did not yield any epigraphic evidence.²⁹⁰

²⁸³ Bruneau 1965, 143, no.4730 (found near the Museum), 4731 (found south of the Artemision), 4732 (found in the Hieron of Apollo), pl.34.

²⁸⁴ Kraabel 1969, 89–90; Mitchell 1999, 91–2, nos.169, 186, 188, 225.

²⁸⁵ The building was found outside the walls, near the northern gate, of the ancient city and is dated to the last decade of the 2nd century CE. Cf. Tačeva-Hitova 1977, 278–82, nos. 3–10, figs. 3–5; Tačeva-Hitova 1983, 192–5, nos. 3–9, pls. LXIV–LXVII.

²⁸⁶ Mazur 1935, 21.

²⁸⁷ Cf. the data collected by Mitchell 1999, 105–7.

²⁸⁸ A dedication of an altar to *Zeus Hypsistos* is found in south-east direction from the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on Mt. Cynthus (I.Délos 1937, no.2306; Mitchell 1999, no. 110a). Cf. further Bruneau 1970, 240–1 who suggests a local Baal was worshipped under the name *Zeus Hypsistos*.

²⁸⁹ The epithet is often applied to the God of Israel in the LXX. Cf. ὁψιστος in Hatch & Redpath ii 1897, 1420–1. Josephus uses the term only once, *Ant.* 16.6.2 (163), while citing the edict of Augustus that confirmed the right of Jews to follow their ancestral customs and worship. For its use by Philo and in the OT Pseudepigrapha consult Treblico 1991, 129–30, nn. 11–12. In the NT the epithet occurs in Lk 1.32, 35, 76; 6.35; 8.28; Mk 5.7; Acts 7.48; 16.17; Heb 7.1.

²⁹⁰ Plassart 1928, 289–93; Bruneau 1970, 240–1.

The evidence presented above allows some cautious suggestions to be made about the purpose that GD 80 served. The strong literary evidence for the existence of a Jewish community on Delos and the occurrence of Theos Hypsistos in the Rheneia epitaphs could indicate that we are dealing with the building of a pagan cultic society under Jewish influence, or even with an association of Judaizers.²⁹¹ Alternatively, the building might have housed a Jewish association that borrowed from or assimilated to pagan practice as suggested by the form of the dedications to Theos Hypsistos. That individual Jews or whole communities could do that is vividly evidenced by the manumissions from Delphi and Oropus (*Ach*42-45) and the Bosporan Kingdom.²⁹² Thus, the question whether GD 80 should be described as 'the synagogue' of the Jewish community of Delos or not remains open until further excavations of the site and the surrounding area are conducted.

Ach60. Vow of Zosas (Pl. XXVI, fig. 1)

Editions: Plassart 1913, 205–6 no.4; Plassart 1914, 527 no.4; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.727; I.Délös 1937, no.2331; Lifshitz 1967, 15 no.4; Bruneau 1970, 484; White ii 1997, 338–9 no.3; Mitchell 1999, 135 no.106.

Illustrations: Bruneau 1970, pl.ix, fig. 5.²⁹³

Other bibliography: Juster i 1914, 499; Offord 1915, 202; Roberts, Skeat & Nock, 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 139 n.25, 147 n.60; Trebilco 1991, 133–4 no.4.3a; Williams 1998, no. I.33 (English tr.).

Found in building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A 3050.

Details: White marble altar-shaped base, with cornices at the top and the bottom. There is a hole the size of a small dish on the upper surface (Plassart). Measurements: 18 x 10 x 10 cm.

Letters: 1–1.4 cm.

²⁹¹ Mitchell and Levinskaya both note that the main characteristics of the cult of *Theos Hypsistos*, the absence of anthropomorphic representations of the deity and animal sacrifice, clearly distinguish it from the pagan cults in the ancient Mediterranean. Cf. Mitchell 1999, 98, 107; Levinskaya 2000, 172–4. Levinskaya (2000, 169–195) champions the idea that the very existence of the cult was due to a Jewish influence. However, others do not regard it as possible to draw any general conclusion based on data that come from different periods and parts of the Mediterranean. Cf. Mitchell 1999, 108–10; Nock, Roberts & Skeats 1936, 64–9; Kraabel 1969, 91–3. Tačeva-Hitova (1983, 212–14) and Trebilco (1991, 143–4) have noted that the relationship between Judaism and the cult of *Theos Hypsistos* is not always obvious. In many cases they could have existed independently.

²⁹² Binder 1999, 272–6, 439–44.

²⁹³ Donald Binder has provided a photo at <http://faculty.smu.edu/dbinder/delos.html>

Language: Greek. Date: 1st–2nd century CE.
Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

Ζωσᾶς
Πάριος
θεῷ
Ὑψίστῳ
εὐχήν. 5

Zosas from Paros to the Highest God (made) a vow.

The base carrying the inscription was found on 22 August 1912 (with *Ach61-2*) lying on the benches by the western wall of room A. The base has a small round hole on the upper surface possibly used to seal and hold a votive figure. Dedications to Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos with representations of cured human body-parts like eyes, arms, breasts²⁹⁴ and ears, related to the god's concern with fertility,²⁹⁵ votive bronze hands,²⁹⁶ and figures of an eagle²⁹⁷ have all been found. Thus, among the remains of the sanctuary of the deity in Serdica two representations in relief of an eagle carrying the deity's bust on its wings and three figures of eagles on pedestals were found.²⁹⁸ A column, dated to the 2nd century CE, topped by the figure of an eagle is attested at the sanctuary of Hypsistos on the Pnyx at Athens.²⁹⁹ One of the lamps found in GD 80, dated to the 1st century BCE/CE, also bears a representation of a deity carried by an eagle (Pl. XXIX, fig. 1).³⁰⁰

The name Zosas is not attested in Jewish inscriptions or papyri, but occurs in another three inscriptions, dated 2nd–1st century BCE, from Delos and in one from

²⁹⁴ Mitchell 1999, nos. 2-12, 22 (Athens); 159 (Ephesus?); 256-7 (Golgoi, Cyprus).

²⁹⁵ Mitchell 1999, nos. 79 (Zernigetusa, Dacia).

²⁹⁶ Mitchell 1999, nos. 266-7 (Berytus).

²⁹⁷ Mitchell 1999, nos. 158 (Tralles); 176 (Thyateira, Lydia); 190-1 (Nicomedia, Bithynia).

²⁹⁸ The sanctuary yielded also five bases with dedications to *Theos Hypsistos*, a metal sceptre and a statue of Asclepius. Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 192-195, no. 3-9, pl. LXIV-LXVII. Levinskaya, however, suggests that the figure carried by eagle represented the Roman emperor. Cf. Levinskaya 2000, 173.

²⁹⁹ Forsen 1993, 514, n. 20.

³⁰⁰ Bruneau 1965, 123, no. 4589, pl. 29.

Paros, dated to 212 CE (LGPN i, 107). This Zosas was a native of the island of Paros as his ethnic attests. There is no other evidence for the presence of Jews on Paros.

This is a standard dedication to Theos Hypsistos, found in both Jewish and pagan inscriptions.³⁰¹ The reason for the dedication is not stated. Vows of thanks to Theos Hypsistos were given after successful healing, survival during a war or sea journey, etc.³⁰² Vows to the deity occur in another three inscriptions from GD 80 (*Ach61-3*). Although vows and vowing are found in Jewish inscriptions, the use of εὐχὴν in the accusative is not very common.³⁰³

Bruneau dates the inscription to the 1st-2nd century CE, refining Plassart's 'imperial period' date, on palaeographic grounds.

Ach61. Vow of Marcia

Editions: Plassart 1913, 206, no.5; Plassart 1914, 528 no.5; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.730; I.Délos 1937, no.2332; Lifshitz 1967, 16 no.7; Bruneau 1970, 484; Brooten 1982, 157 no.2; White ii 1997, 338-9, no. 4.

Other bibliography: Juster i 1914, 499; Offord 1915, 202; Roberts, Skeat & Nock, 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 139 n.25, 147 n.60; Trebilco 1991, 133-4 no.4.3d; Mitchell 1999, 135 no.109; Binder 1999, 303 n.137.

Found in building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A 3049.

Details: Base of white marble with cornice at top and bottom, 17 x 10 x 10 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st-2nd century CE(?).

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

Ὑψίσ-
τω εὐ-
χὴν Μ-
αρκία.

To the Highest, Marcia (made) a vow.

This was found together with *Ach60* and *62* on 22 August 1912. It is similar to the dedications from the sanctuary of Hypsistos on the Pnyx at Athens, which were

³⁰¹ Mitchell 1999, 128-47.

³⁰² Mitchell 1999, 106-7.

almost all set up by women who sought a cure from illness.³⁰⁴ This might be the case with Marcia's vow as well. The name Marcia occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Rome, but was also a common Roman name.³⁰⁵

The inscription has not been dated, but according to Plassart and Bruneau its lettering and the shape of the base are identical to *Ach60*, and it is therefore likely to belong to the same period.

Ach62. Vow of Laodice

Editions: Plassart 1913, 205 no.3; Plassart 1914, 527 no.3; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.728; I.Délos 1937, no.2330; Lifshitz 1967, 15 no.5; Bruneau 1970, 484; Brooten 1982, 157 no.1; White ii 1997, 338–9 no.2.

Other bibliography: Juster i 1914, 499; Offord 1915, 202; Roberts, Skeat & Nock, 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 139 n.25, 147 n.60; Trebilco 1991, 133–4 no.4.3b; Mitchell 1999, 135 no.107; Binder 1999, 303 n.137.

Found in building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A 3048.

Details: Marble stele with cornice at top and bottom, 25 x 16.5 x 12 cm.

Letters 1.5 cm., with serifs. Space between lines: 1 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century BCE.

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

Λαωδίκη Θεῷ
Ὑψίστῳ σωθεῖ-
σα ταῖς ὑφ' αὐτο-
ῦ θαρραπῆαις
εὐχὴν. 5

4. I. θεραπείαις

Laodice to the Highest God, having been saved by (medical) treatments by him, (made) a vow.

This was found together with *Ach60-1* on 22 August 1912. The inscription is clearly set up as a votive thanksgiving to Theos Hypsistos for his healing powers. It is very similar to a dedication to Zeus Hypsistos or, most likely, just to Hypsistos, dated to

³⁰³ *Mac3-5*, JIGRE 16.

³⁰⁴ Forsen 1993; Mitchell 1999, nos.2–21.

³⁰⁵ *JWE ii* 128, 208, 233, 431, 490.

the imperial period, from the sanctuary on the Pnyx at Athens: [Διὸς ὑψίστω | ἐὐχὴν] Ζωσί | [μη θεράπευ | [θεῶ]σα ('To Zeus(?) the Highest, Zosima, having been cured (made) a vow').³⁰⁶ Theos Hypsistos is explicitly represented as a healer also in a dedication from Aezani in Phrygia.³⁰⁷

Frey, followed by Trebilco, White and Binder, understood θαράπηαις as 'infirmities' and translated ll.3–4 as 'cured by him of her infirmities'. However, there is no reason to depart from the normal definition of θεραπεία, 'cure', 'medical treatment' (LSJ, s.v.).

The name Laodice is not attested in Jewish inscriptions. Binder's suggestion that the name is masculine is contradicted by the participle ending -σα which clearly shows that the dedicator is a woman.³⁰⁸

Bruneau dates the inscription to 1st century BCE on paleographic grounds.

Ach63. Vow of Lysimachus

Editions: Plassart 1913, 205 no.1; Plassart 1914, 527 no.2; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.729; I.Délos 1937, no.2328; Lifshitz 1967, 15 no.6; Bruneau 1970, 484; White ii 1997, 338–9 no.1.

Other bibliography: Juster i 1914, 499; Offord 1915, 202; Roberts, Skeat & Nock, 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 139 n.25, 147 n.60; Trebilco 1991, 133–4 no.4.3c; Mitchell 1999, 135 no.108; Binder 1999, 303 n.137.

Found in building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E 779.

Details: Column of white marble, 86.5 x 21 cm. (17.5 at the top), with a small round hole on the top.

Letters: 1.7 cm. Space between lines: 1 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century BCE.

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

Λυσίμαχος
ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ
χαριστήριον.

³⁰⁶ Mitchell 1999, no.129.

³⁰⁷ Mitchell 1999, no.209.

³⁰⁸ Binder 1999, 303, n.137.

Lysimachus, on his own behalf, to the Highest God, a thank-offering.

According to Plassart's diary the inscription was found on the western benches of room B on 24 August 1912. Plassart related this inscription to *Ach65* found in House IIA to strengthen his identification of GD 80 as a synagogue. His suggestion, however, is based only on the occurrence of the name Lysimachus in both inscriptions and is by no means persuasive.³⁰⁹ The present inscription is clearly a dedication to Theos Hypsistos following a successful cure or other successful intervention of the deity in the devotee's life. This is confirmed by the small hole, 3 cm. deep and 3 cm. in diameter with traces of lead, on the upper surface of the column most probably used to seal and hold a votive metal figure.³¹⁰

The occurrence of χαριστήριον in I.4 is also instructive. The term, or the form εὐχαριστήριον,³¹¹ occurs often in votive inscriptions and is found in dedications to Theos Hypsistos and Hypsistos from Athens,³¹² Dacia,³¹³ Moesia Inferior,³¹⁴ Mitylene,³¹⁵ Caria³¹⁶ and elsewhere.³¹⁷ χαριστήριον does not occur in Jewish inscriptions, but εὐχαριστήριον occurs in Jewish dedications from Amastris in Paphlagonia, Ascalon and the Gaza region.³¹⁸

The name Lysimachus occurs in *Ach65* and in a Jewish inscription from Cyrenaica.³¹⁹

Bruneau dates the inscription to the 1st century BCE on paleographic grounds.

³⁰⁹ Plassart 1914, 530.

³¹⁰ Mazur 1935, 21.

³¹¹ L. Robert, 'Dédicaces et reliefs votifs. 10. Inscriptions de Bithynie', *Hellenica* x 1955, 55–62.

³¹² Mitchell 1999, nos.1, 4.

³¹³ Mitchell 1999, no.78.

³¹⁴ Mitchell 1999, nos.80, 82.

³¹⁵ Mitchell 1999, no.115.

³¹⁶ Mitchell 1999, nos.133, 139, 141–6, 149, 151, 153, 156–7.

³¹⁷ Mitchell 1999, nos. 290–1.

³¹⁸ Lifshitz 1967, nos.35, 70, 72.

³¹⁹ CJZC 45b.

Ach64. Dedication (Pl. XXVI, fig. 2)

Editions: Plassart 1913, 206 no.6; Plassart 1914, 528 no.6; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.731; I.Délos 1937, no.2333; Lifshitz 1967, 16 no.8; Bruneau 1970, 484.

Illustrations: Bruneau 1970, pl. ix, fig. 6.³²⁰

Other bibliography: Juster 1914, i 499; Roberts, Skeat & Nock, 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Bömer 1960, 113–14; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70.

Found in building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A 3051.

Details: Marble stele with cornice at top and bottom, 33 x 20 x 26 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st–2nd century CE.

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

[- - -]
 (rosette) (rosette)
 γενόμενος
 ἐλεύθερος.

..... *having become free.*

According to Plassart's diary the inscription was found in the southern corner of room B on 29th August 1912. Although it is damaged, it was probably dedicated to Theos Hypsistos in thanks for a successful manumission. However, personal dedications to the deity of this kind have not been found so far. The inscription could also indicate that manumission of slaves took place in GD 80 in a way similar to that evidenced in synagogues in the Bosphoran Kingdom.³²¹ Binder suggests the rosettes were symbols related to the Jerusalem Temple indicating a possible Jewish provenance of the inscription.³²² However, rosettes often occur on non-Jewish monuments as well. A rosette is also depicted on in Ach28.

Bruneau dates the inscription to the 1st–2nd century CE on paleographic grounds.

Ach65. Inscription of Agathocles and Lysimachus (Pl. XXVI, fig. 3)

Editions: Plassart 1913, 205 no.1; Plassart 1914, 526–7 no.1; Offord 1915, 202; Krauss 1922, 244 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.726; I.Délos 1937, no.2329; Lifshitz 1967, 15 no.3; Bruneau 1970, 484.

³²⁰ Donald Binder has provided a photograph at <http://faculty.smu.edu/dbinder/delos.html>

³²¹ Binder 1999, 272–6, 439–44.

³²² Binder 1999, 306.

Illustrations: Bruneau 1970, pl. ix. fig. 4 (photo); Bruneau 1982, 499 fig.13 (photo).³²³

Other bibliography: Juster 1914, i 499; Plassart 1916, 163, 242; Roberts, Skeat & Nock 1936, 57, 65 (= Nock 1972, 418, 424); Bruneau 1982, 499; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 139–40 n.28, 147 n.60; Trebilco 1991, 133–4, no.4.3e; White ii 1997, 338–9 no.5; Binder 1999, 303–4.

Found in Insula GD 79, House IIA on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A 3052.

Details: Marble base, 34.5 x 17 x 18.5 cm., with a round hole on the upper surface. Letters 1.6 cm., with serifs. Space between lines: 1.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century BCE.

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

Ἀγαθοκλῆς
καὶ Λυσίμα-
χος ἐπὶ
προσευχῇ.

Agathocles and Lysimachus, in a prayer [= vow?].

This was found during the excavations of House IIA in 1912–13 conducted by A. Plassart and Ch. Avezou.³²⁴ The building is located in the south-west part of Insula GD 79, on the street immediately behind the stand of the Stadium (GD 78). House IIA has a peristyle court with rooms attached on the west, south and south-west. There are shops attached to the south, but with no direct access to the building.³²⁵ The principal entrance is from the south through a corridor with latrines and a kitchen(?) attached on the east.³²⁶ Two additional entrances at the east and west corners of the north wall of the court lead to a street that separates Houses IIA & B from Houses C & D in the neighbouring insula.³²⁷ The court allows access to the four principal rooms of House IIA. A large hall is accessed through two entrances from the west.³²⁸ Two small rooms are located at the south-west and south-east corners of the court and accessed

³²³ Donald Binder has provided a photograph at: <http://faculty.smu.edu/dbinder/delos.html>

³²⁴ Plassart 1916, 145–6.

³²⁵ Shops η, θ, ζ on Plassart's plan. Plassart 1916, 232–4, pls. V–VII.

³²⁶ Corridor α and rooms β & γ on Plassart's plan. Plassart 1916, 234–5, pls. V–VII.

³²⁷ Plassart 1916, 156–9.

³²⁸ Room γ on Plassart's plan.

through single entrances.³²⁹ Another small room is accessed through an entrance at the south-west corner of the west hall.³³⁰ Unfortunately, Plassart did not give measurements for the rooms in his 1916 publication of *Insula GD 79*. The court is paved with small pieces of marble. There are four columns of bluish marble forming the peristyle³³¹ and a stair at the north-east corner, about 3.85 m. from the north wall, leading down to an underground cistern.³³² This is only the second example from Delos of a cistern with human access to it. The other one is the cistern of GD 80 (see above). Plassart notes that the niches found on the north wall of the court and the small altars found in the court, the west hall and the room at the south-west corner of the court were typical of the domestic cults on Delos.³³³ The walls of most of the rooms and the court of House IIA were painted and a number of graffiti, including a male figure reclining on a couch, a boat and a giant phallus, were also found.³³⁴ Plassart describes *Insula GD 79* as 'archaic' without giving a particular date.

The present inscription was found in the north-west corner of the court of House IIA. It is inscribed on a rectangular base that has a hole 2 cm. deep and 6 cm. in diameter on the upper surface.³³⁵ According to Mazur there are traces of lead in the hole that might indicate that the base was carrying a votive metal figure (cf. *Ach63*).³³⁶ Plassart relates this inscription to the dedications to Theos Hypsistos found in GD 80 solely on their physical proximity and the occurrence of the name Lysimachus here and in *Ach63*.³³⁷ Bruneau notes, rightly, that this is not a sufficient reason to establish a connection between them. He goes on, however, to suggest that

³²⁹ Rooms *f* & *e* on Plassart's plan.

³³⁰ Room *h* on Plassart's plan.

³³¹ Plassart 1916, 236–8.

³³² Plassart 1916, 238–41, figs. 39–40.

³³³ Plassart 1916, 242–3, 247.

³³⁴ The phallus was found on the south wall of the west hall (*g*). Cf. Plassart 1916, 243–6.

³³⁵ Bruneau 1982, p. 499 fig. 13.

³³⁶ Mazur 1935, 21.

³³⁷ Plassart 1914, 530.

House IIA was also a Jewish establishment but different from GD 80, which was used by 'orthodox' Jews.³³⁸ This seems unlikely, as it would be very difficult to identify House IIA as a Jewish residence on the basis of this inscription.

Plassart, followed by Lifshitz, White and Binder, understood the expression ἐπὶ προσευχῇ in ll.3–4 as referring to the *proseuchē* = synagogue of the Jews on Delos.³³⁹ Mazur notes, however, that the absence of a definite article before προσευχῇ makes this translation unsound. She prefers to read προσευχῇ with its original meaning, 'a prayer', and translates ll.3–4 as 'in fulfilment or in pursuance of a prayer'. This, according to her, makes the Jewish character of the inscription less probable.³⁴⁰ However, we should note that the original meaning 'prayer' is not widely attested in pagan inscriptions or literary sources.³⁴¹ The word is found with the meaning of 'prayer' in a Jewish epitaph from Rome³⁴² and in the NT.³⁴³ Bruneau and Levinskaya note that in certain cases the expression ἐπὶ προσευχῇ could be used as a synonym of εὐχῇ i.e. '(in fulfilment of) a vow'.³⁴⁴ This, apparently, was also Mazur's idea when she noted that the meaning of this inscription is similar to the dedications from GD 80 (*Ach60-3*). Bruneau suggests that ἐπὶ προσευχῇ is used in a similar sense in one of the Samaritan honorific inscriptions found near GD 80 (*Ach66*). Thus, the use of ἐπὶ προσευχῇ with the meaning of '(in fulfilment of) a prayer/vow' probably indicates a Jewish influence. However, whether the dedicators were Jews or not remains an open question.

³³⁸ Bruneau 1982, 499–503.

³³⁹ Plassart 1914, 530–1.

³⁴⁰ Mazur 1935, 21.

³⁴¹ With exception of BGU iv 1080. The term ποτευχῶ (Doric for προσευχή) attested in an inscription from the theatre at Epidaurus might indicate a pagan use of the term with meaning of 'prayer house' although this was questioned by Levinskaya 1990, 155–6. Cf. further Stern, *GLAJJ* ii, no.395; Levinskaya 1990, 156–9; Levinskaya 2000, 150–65.

³⁴² JIWE ii 282.

³⁴³ James 5.17.

³⁴⁴ Bruneau 1982, 474–5; Levinskaya 2000, 158–9.

The name Agathocles occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt³⁴⁵ and Cyrenaica.³⁴⁶ On Lysimachus, cf. *Ach63*.

Plassart and Bruneau date the inscription to the 1st century BCE on paleographic grounds.

Ach66. Samaritan inscription honouring Menippus (Pl. XXVI, fig. 4)

Editions: Bruneau 1982, 471–5 no.2; SEG xxxii 1982, no.810; Kraabel 1984, 44–6; SEG xxxiv 1984, no.786; White 1987, 141–7; SEG xxxvii 1987, no.1832; van der Horst 1988, 185–6; Boffo 1994, 47–60 no.3; White ii 1997, 341–2 no.71b; Llewelyn 1998, 148–51, no.b.

Illustrations: Bruneau 1982, figs.4–7 (photo); Talmon 1997, fig.4 (photo).³⁴⁷

Other bibliography: Wasserstein 1982, 270; BE 1983, no.281; Egger 1986, 308–9; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 71; Kant 1987, 707–8; Pummer 1987b, 19–20; van der Horst 1988, 141 (= van der Horst 1990, 143–4); S. Talmon, *EI* 20 1989, 283–4; SEG xxxix 1989, no.712; Talmon 1997, 228–9; Pummer 1998, 28–9; Binder 1999, 305, 315.

Found near building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Stele of white marble with large wreath, broken at top and bottom, 70 x 54.2 (at base; 56 with moulding restored) – 53 (at top) x 9.5–6 cm.

Letters: c.1.2 cm (0.8 cm. for *omicron*). ll.2, 4 & 6 are inscribed and painted red; ll.1 & 3 are inscribed and painted in black; l.5 was not inscribed but only painted.

Language: Greek. Date: c.250–175 BCE.

Text (follows Bruneau 1982):

(top) [?οί ἐν Δήλῳ]
(wreath)

Ἰσραηλῖται οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀρ-
γαρζεῖν ἐτίμησαν ^{vac.} Μένιππον Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἡρά-
κλειον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ κατασκευ-
άσαντα καὶ ἀναθένθα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ προσευχῇ τοῦ
Θε[οῦ] ΤΟΝ[- - - - -]
ΟΛΟΝΚΑΙΤΟ[- - καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν] χρυσῷ στε[φά-]
νῳ καὶ [- - - - -]
ΚΑ[- - - - -]
Τ[- - - - -]

5

5–6. White 1987, 1997: [περί]βολον οὐ τὸν [οἶκον καὶ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου τὸν περί]βολον καὶ τὸν τρικλείνον]

6. Bruneau: ὄλον(?) καὶ ΤΟ

³⁴⁵ JIGRE 36, 46.

³⁴⁶ CJZC 7a, 10.

³⁴⁷ Donald Binder has provided a photograph at: <http://faculty.smu.edu/dbinder/delos.html>

The Israelites [on Delos?] who make offerings to the temple (on the) holy [or to sacred and holy] Garizim [Argarizin] honoured Menippus (son) of Artemidorus, from Heraclion, himself and his descendants, for constructing and dedicating from his own funds in a prayer [= vow] of God and crowned with a golden wreath and

Philippe Fraisse, architect of the École Française d'Athènes, found the inscription together with *Ach67* 92.5 m. north of GD 80 in 1979. The stelae were found lying next to a wall of a building that has not been excavated. They were probably placed in this building and it is possible that this was the Samaritan establishment on Delos, not GD 80 as stated by Kraabel.³⁴⁸ Most of the surface of the stone is taken up by a large and elaborate wreath, with the surviving part of the inscription fitted into the space below it.

Bruneau reconstructs the inscription on the lost top part of the stone on the basis of *Ach67*. He suggests that because the stele was re-used and there was insufficient space beneath the wreath, the beginning of the inscription was placed above the wreath. White challenges this, arguing that the text does not require the addition of the phrase οἱ ἐν Δῆλῳ because the inscription dates to the period before Athenian control of Delos (c.166 BCE). He refers to an article by Baslez where it is observed that during the Athenian domination the council of Delos created a special status of quasi-citizenship represented with the phrase ἐν Δῆλῳ.³⁴⁹ Thus, the colony of Athenians, established between 165–146/5 BCE, used this phrase to describe their status on the island, but the term would not normally be used earlier than that.³⁵⁰ However, it would be odd to begin the whole text as l.1 begins, without at least a definite article.

l.1. This is the first occurrence of the term 'Israelite' in a Samaritan inscription, but cf. the much debated Ἰσδραηλίτης designating a Jew at Rome in *JIWE* ii 489. Kraabel speculates that the term's meaning is not religious but geographical and could

³⁴⁸ Kraabel 1984, 333–4.

³⁴⁹ Baslez 1976, 343–60.

be translated as 'those from (the Northern Kingdom) Israel'³⁵¹, but this seem unlikely in the 2nd century BCE. Bruneau observes, after a note by M. Simon, that through this designation the Samaritans on Delos claimed descent from Jacob/Israel (Gen 32.29), i.e. before the formal separation between Jews and Samaritans occurred, indicating their religious and cultural affiliation.³⁵² It is very likely that the term is used here, and in *Ach67*, to distinguish the Samaritans from the Jews, the Ἰουδαῖοι, living on the island.

II.1–2. The phrase οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀργαρεῖν indicates that the Samaritans made annual payments to the temple on Mt Garizim. The verb ἀπαρχομαι, means literally 'to make a beginning, esp. in sacrifice' or 'to offer the firstlings or first-fruits' (LSJ s.v.). The noun ἀπαρχή is used with the meaning of the tax paid by Jews to the Jerusalem Temple by Philo, and occurs on papyri and ostraca from Egypt.³⁵³ ἱερὸν could mean here, and in *Ach67*, either 'sacred'³⁵⁴ or 'temple'. For example, it is well known that in several cases the Jerusalem Temple was referred to as ἱερὸν.³⁵⁵ Pummer seems to prefer the second interpretation and notes that if correct both the present inscription and *Ach67* could be dated before the destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mt Garizim in 129 BCE.³⁵⁶ Although it is not clear whether the Samaritans continued to made contributions after their temple was destroyed, the phrase οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀργαρεῖν could have been used as a specific Samaritan designation in later periods as well. It was clearly regarded as

³⁵⁰ Baslez 1976, 343 n.2.

³⁵¹ Kraabel 1984, 46 n.6.

³⁵² Bruneau 1982, 478–9.

³⁵³ Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.77–8, 151–2; CPJ ii 162–80, 421. Cf. Smallwood 1981, 124–5; Bruneau 1982, 480.

³⁵⁴ Bruneau 1982, 477–8; Kraabel 1984, 332; White 1987, 141–2; Llewelyn 1998, 148.

³⁵⁵ Josephus, *B.J.* 1.63; *Ant.* 12.10, etc.

³⁵⁶ Pummer 19??, 174.

important for the self-identity of the Samaritans on Delos, perhaps as another way of differentiating themselves from the Jews.

'Αργαρζείν is a Greek transliteration of **הר גרזים** i.e. Mt. Garizim. Talmon notes that the 'transliteration of **הר** as 'Ap proves that the Hebrew term [**הר** = mountain] was not understood as a general noun, but as a constitutive part of the name of the mountain'.³⁵⁷ A direct parallel to the use of 'Αργαρζείν here and in *Ach67* is found in the works of the Hellenistic Samaritan historian Pseudo-Eupolemus.³⁵⁸ The preserved texts, however, render the name of the mountain as 'Αργαρζίν.³⁵⁹ Pummer notes that this form, with slight variations, occurs also in non-Samaritan sources from the Roman and Byzantine periods.³⁶⁰ Talmon suggests that the rendering of the name of the mountain as one word was a specific feature of the Samaritan writings.³⁶¹ Pummer, however, notes that the transliteration and contraction of **הר** with a proper name in Greek occurs often in the LXX manuscripts, the *Vetus Latina* (*Argarzim*; 2Macc 5.23, 6.2) and the NT ('Αρμαγεδών; Rom 16.16).³⁶²

11.3–4. White notes κατασκευάσαντα is a term usually used to designate the construction of a building. The donor, Menippus, apparently paid for the construction and the dedication (ἀναθέντα) a building, probably, as White suggests, the Samaritan establishment on Delos.³⁶³

11.4–5. ἐπὶ προσευχῇ is in the dative and with no definite article before προσευχῇ. Bruneau suggests it has the meaning of '(in fulfilment of) a

³⁵⁷ Talmon 1997, 227.

³⁵⁸ Cited by Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praep. Ev.* 9.17.1–9, 18.2. Cf. Holladay 1980, 173.

³⁵⁹ MS B, however, uses 'Αργαρζείν. Cf. Pummer 1987b, 19.

³⁶⁰ Elder Pliny, *H.N.* 5.14.68, has *mons Argaris*. See also Damascius, *Vita Isidori* 141, cited in Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 242, p.345b. Cf. GLAJJ i, no. 473; ii, 673–5; Pummer 1987b, 21–3.

³⁶¹ Talmon 1997, s. 225–9.

³⁶² Pummer 1987b, 23–5.

³⁶³ White 1987, 143.

prayer/vow".³⁶⁴ Cf. *Ach65* for further discussion. The addition of τοῦ θε[οῦ] makes clear the reason for Menippus' donation: a vow to God (with genitive used for dative). White, followed by Binder, challenges this reading and suggests that προσευχῇ should be understood metonymically as a 'prayer-hall'.³⁶⁵ To explain the use of the genitive we should imply that the article was omitted and the inscription read 'in the prayer-hall of the God', explaining where the donation was made. This, however, seems unlikely, since there is no definite article as would be expected when προσευχῇ is used in this sense. Menippus' donation was, most probably, listed in ll.5–6, beginning with either τό or τόν.

ll.6–7. The crowning of a distinguished donor is a common practice in Greek honorific inscriptions. The golden crowns were the most expensive and highly regarded, decorated with golden branches and leaves. The public proclamation of a crowning was scheduled for a particular place and occasion. It is not clear where exactly Menippus' crowing took place – in the Samaritan establishment or during a religious festival or other public feast on Delos. The crowning of a donor, Tation wife of Straton, by the Jewish community is attested in the inscription from the synagogue of Phocaea.³⁶⁶

Menippus, the donor of the Samaritan community was probably a native of Heraclion / Heraclea in Crete,³⁶⁷ but might instead be from another Heraclea, e.g. Heraclea under Latmus in Caria, or Heraclea near Mt Oeta. He was not necessarily a Samaritan himself. The name Menippus is not otherwise attested in Samaritan or Jewish inscriptions. It is interesting that the donor in *Ach67*, Serapion, was also a Cretan, from Knossos, for which Heraclion was the port.

³⁶⁴ Bruneau 1982, 474–5.

³⁶⁵ White 1987, 142 no.40.

³⁶⁶ Lifshitz 1967, no.13.

³⁶⁷ Bruneau 1982, 481.

Bruneau dates the inscription to 250–175 BCE on paleographic grounds.³⁶⁸

Ach67. Samaritan inscription honouring Serapion (Pl. XXVI, fig. 5)

Editions: Bruneau 1982, 469–71, no.1; SEG xxxii 1982, no.809; SEG xxxiv 1984, no.786; White 1987, 141; White ii 1997, 340–1 no.71a; Llewelyn 1998, 148–51 no.a.

Illustrations: Bruneau 1982, figs.2–3 (photo); Talmon 1997, fig.3 (photo).³⁶⁹

Other bibliography: Wasserstein 1982, 270; BE 1983, no.281; Kraabel 1984, 44; Egger 1986, 308–9; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 71; Kant 1987, 707–8; Pummer 1987b, 19–20; SEG xxxvii 1987, no.1832; van der Horst 1988a, 141 (= van der Horst 1990, 143–4); van der Horst 1988b, 184–6; S. Talmon, *EI* 20 1989, 283–4; SEG xxxix 1989, no.712; Boffo 1994, 47–60 no.2; Talmon 1997, 226–9; R. Pummer, 'How to Tell a Samaritan Synagogue from a Jewish Synagogue', *BAR* 24.3 1998, 28–9 [*not seen*]; Binder 1999, 305.

Found near building GD 80 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum.

Details: Marble stele with large wreath, broken at the top, 48 x 40.5 (base) – 33 (top) x 11 (base) – 7.5 (top) cm.

Letters: c.1.5–1.0 cm. Letters inscribed and painted in red (even lines) or black (odd lines).

Language: Greek. Date: c.150–50 BCE.

Text (follows Bruneau 1982):

(wreath)

οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ Ἰσραελεῖται οἱ ἀ-
παρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀργα-
ριζεῖν στεφανοῦσιν χρυσῷ
στεφάνῳ Σαραπίωνα Ἰάσο-
νος Κνώσιον εὐεργεσίας
ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς.

5

The Israelites on Delos who make offerings to the temple (on the) holy [or to sacred and holy] Garizim [Argarizin] crown with a golden wreath Serapion (son) of Jason, from Knossos, for his beneficence to them.

This was found together with *Ach66*. On ll.1–4, see *Ach66*. The word 'Israelites' is written differently here: Ἰσραελεῖται, with ε instead of η and ει instead of ι. The *iota adscriptum* indicating the dative is missing as in *Ach66*.³⁷⁰ The benefactor, Serapion, was from Knossos, and Menippus in *Ach66* was probably also a Cretan. The reason for the Samaritans honouring Serapion is described with the term εὐεργεσία,

³⁶⁸ Cf. the absence of *iota adscriptum* indicating the dative throughout the inscription. Bruneau 1982, 483–4.

³⁶⁹ Donald Binder has provided a photograph at: <http://faculty.smu.edu/dbinder/delos.html>

³⁷⁰ Bruneau 1982, 469.

one of the standard epigraphic terms for good deeds or benefactions within the system of euergetism, but not otherwise found in a Samaritan / Jewish context.

The name Serapion is attested in Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica.³⁷¹ As with Menippus, Serapion was not necessarily a Samaritan himself.

Bruneau dates the inscription to 150–50 BCE on palaeographic grounds.

Ach68. Praulos of Samaria in a list of dedicants

Editions: Roussel 1915/16, 174–5 no.168; Durrbach 1921/2, 264 n.1; I.Délos 1937, no.2616, col. II, ll.53–4.

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 102; BE 1969, no.369; Bruneau 1982, 479; White 1987, 144 n.47, 147 n.60; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70–1; van der Horst 1988, 141 n.30 (= van der Horst 1990, 144 n.37).

Found in building GD 100 on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. G 685.

Details: Marble stele, 100 x 61 x 4 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: c.100 CE.

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

Πραύλος Σαμαρεὺς καὶ [ὑπερ]	53
τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς.]	54

Praulos of Samaria, also for (his) brothers and mother.

This was found in Serapeion C (GD 100).³⁷² The whole inscription is written in two columns and lists the names of the members of the temple and a number of dedications to Serapis. The text given above is ll.53–4 of the second column. Roussel suggests that the dedicator was a Jew, but this is unlikely. It seems that in this case we have an immigrant from Samaria, not a Samaritan by religious affiliation as proposed by Bruneau, who contributed to the temple of Serapis on Delos. Robert suggests he may have been a Greek colonist from Samaria.³⁷³ It is significant that the ethnic here has a different spelling from the other known occurrences in the Balkans (cf. Index 5a).

³⁷¹ CJZC, nos.53a, 53c, 72.

³⁷² Bruneau & Ducat 1965, 144–5.

The name Praulos is not attested in Samaritan or Jewish inscriptions, although it is fairly widespread otherwise.³⁷⁴

Roussel and Bruneau date the inscription to c.100 CE on paleographic grounds.

Ach69. Statue base of Herod Antipas

Editions: Homolle 1879, 365–7 no.5; OGIS i 1903, no.417; Durrbach i 1921/2, 263–4 no.176; I.Délos 1937, no.1586; Ehrenberg & Jones 1955, no.179; Gabba 1958, 45–6 no.15; Boffo 1994, 166–70 no.20.

Other bibliography: Homolle 1884, 151; Plassart 1914, 534; Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988, 96 app. B, no. 1; Richardson 1996, 209 no.10 (English tr.); Kokkinos 1998, 122, 137.

Found in the Temple of Apollo on Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E 170.

Details: White marble base of a statue, 80 x 56 x 53 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4–39 CE.

Text (follows I.Délos 1937):

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ[η]ν[αίων καὶ οἱ]
κατοικοῦ[ν]τ[ε]ς τῇ ν νήσον]
Ἡρώδην βασιλέω[ς Ἡ]ρ[ώ]δου υἱόν]
τετράρχην ἀρετῆς [ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-]
ας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ[ς Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεθηκάν?] 5
ΣΤΗΣΕΙ[- - - - -]
νῦν δὲ Κ[- - - - -]
ἐπὶ ἐπιμ[ε]λητοῦ τῆς νήσου Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Απολ-]
λωνίου Ρα[μ]νουσίου - - - - -]

2. Durrbach: κατοικ[κ]ο[ῦ]ντες τὴν νήσον]

3. Durrbach: Ἡρώδην βασιλέω[ς Ἡ]ρ[ώ]δου υἱόν]

8-9. Homolle: ἐπὶ ἐπιμ[ε]λητοῦ τῆς νήσου τοῦ δεινός Απολλ[λ]ωνίου Μ[-----]

8-9. OGIS: ἐπὶ ἐπιμ[ε]λητοῦ τῆς νήσου Απολλ[λ]ωνίου Μ[-----]

The Athenian people and those living on the island (honoured) Herod the tetrarch, son of Herod the king, for his kindness and goodwill towards them, (and) dedicated to Apollo(?) in the time of the epimeletes of the island, Apollonius (son) of Apollonius from Rhamnous

This inscription was found in the *propylon* (a monumental roofed gateway) of the Temple of Apollo on Delos in 1878. The inscription is on the base of a statue, which apparently was placed in the temple of Apollo as a gift of gratitude by the Athenians living on Delos to Herod the Great's son Antipas. Very similar wording

³⁷³ BE 1969, no. 369.

is found in inscriptions honouring Queen Stratonice (IDélos 1575), Augustus (1588) and his daughter Julia (1592), which are dedicated to Apollo, Artemis and Leto, so all the divinities may have been mentioned here too. Herod Antipas was appointed by Augustus tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea following his father's death in 4 BCE. He apparently followed the trend of benefactions by his father to major Greek cities in Asia Minor, mainland Greece and the Greek archipelago as indicated by another dedication of a statue to him from Cos.³⁷⁵ In both dedications Herod Antipas is described as 'son of Herod the king' and his own title is given as tetrarch.

The placing of the statue in the *propylon* of the temple of Apollo probably indicates that this particular honour was given in recognition of some sort of improvement in that location. Richardson notes that this inscription and the rebuilding of the temple of Pythian Apollo on Rhodes by Herod the Great³⁷⁶ suggest an association of the Herodian family with the cult of Apollo.

Durrbach restored ll. 8-9 after a dedication of the Athenians and the Delians to the proconsul L. Calpurnius Piso, where the *epimeletes* Apollonius (son) of Apollonius from Rhamnous is also mentioned.³⁷⁷

The inscription has not been dated, but it was presumably placed, together with the statue, in the temple of Apollo some time before Antipas' exile by Caligula in 39 CE.

³⁷⁴ 3 examples in LGPN i, 12 in iii.a, 2 in iii.b.

³⁷⁵ OGIS i 416.

³⁷⁶ Josephus, *BJ* 1.424, *Ant.* 16.147.

³⁷⁷ Durrbach 1921/2, 262-3, no. 175.

Rheneia

In the 6th century BCE Polycrates of Samos dedicated Rheneia to Apollo. During the second purification of Delos in 426 BCE all burials were cleared and all human remains removed to Rheneia. Since then the island became the official burial ground of Delos.

Ach70. Epitaph of Heraclea (Pl. XXVI, fig. 5)

Editions: Hirschfeld 1874, 403–5 no.57; SIG ii² 1900, no.816; Wilhelm 1901, cols.9–18; Deissmann 1902, 253–65; Deissmann 1923, 351–62; Tocilescu i 1902, 436–77 no.93; Oehler 1909, 444 no.114a; Bergmann 1911, 503–10; Cumont 1914, 946–7; SIG iii³ 1920, no.1181; Durrbach i 1921/2, 264–5; Krauss 1922, 243–4 no.97; CIJ i 1936, no.725a; I.Délos 1937, no.2532.i; Couilloud 1974, 215 no.485.ii; White ii 1997, 338–9 no.3.

Illustrations: Wilhelm 1901, fig.3 (facsimile); Deissmann 1923, 352 figs.73–4 (facsimile); Cumont 1923, pl.4.2 (facsimile); Mazur 1935, 15 fig.2 (photo); CIJ i 1936, no.725a (facsimile).

Other bibliography: F. Cumont, *MemPontAcc* 1.1 1923, 77 no.19; Cook 1925, ii.2 880–1 no.19; Roberts, Skeat & Nock, 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 99–100; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 61; Robert 1960, 433 n.3; Pippidi 1974, 260–1; Robert 1978, 248 n.41; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 139–40 n.27, 147 n.60; van der Horst 1991, 148–9 no.6; Trebilco 1991, 133–4 no.4.2; Williams 1998, no.II.133 (English tr.).

Found on Rheneia. Now: Bucharest, National Museum of Romania, inv. no. L 582.

Details: White marble stele with tenon underneath, broken at the top, 42 x 31 x 6.5 cm., inscribed on both sides. The letters were originally painted in red.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd – early 1st century BCE(?).

Text (follows Couilloud 1974):

(front)

(pair of uplifted hands)

ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν
 Ὑψιστον τὸν Κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων
 καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλῳ φονεύ-
 σαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν τα-
 λαίπωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλεαν, ἐχχέαν- 5
 τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα ἀδί-
 κως, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύ-
 σασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ
 τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν. Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐ-
 φορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυ- 10
 χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ταπεινοῦνται
 μεθ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀ-
 ναίτιον ζητήσεις, καὶ τὴν ταχίστην.

(reverse)

(pair of uplifted hands)

ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ
 τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Ὑψιστοῦν τὸν
 Κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων
 καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ἐπὶ τοὺς
 δόλφ φονεύσαντας ἢ φαρ- 5
 μακεύσαντας τὴν ταλαί-
 πωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλεα[ν,]
 ἐχχέαντας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀν[αί-]
 τιον αἷμα ἀδίκως, ἵνα οἱ[ὅ-]
 τως γένηται τοῖς φονεύ- 10
 σασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσα-
 σιν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν.
 Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ
 οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυ- 15
 χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ
 ταπεινοῦνται μεθ' ἱκετεῖ-
 ας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσης τὸ αἱ[ί-]
 [μ]α τὸ ἀναίτιον, ζητή-
 σεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην.

Front:

10. Deissmann: ὦ

11. Wilhelm: τῇ ἡμερᾷ

12-13. Wilhelm: ἐγδικήσης αἷμα

I call upon and entreat the Highest God, the Lord of the spirits and all flesh, against those who have treacherously murdered or poisoned the wretched, untimely dead Heraclea, and wickedly spilled her innocent blood, so that the same happens to them, who treacherously murdered or poisoned her, and to their children. O, Lord who see everything, and the angels of God, for whom every soul on this same day humbles itself [or fasts] with supplication, that you avenge the innocent blood, seek after (them?) and as soon as possible.

This inscription was found in 1834 on Rheneia and later transferred to Bucharest. This inscription and *Ach71* are the only prayers of vengeance found on Rheneia. This probably suggests that Jewish epitaphs on the island are otherwise indistinguishable from non-Jewish ones, and it is only when they go into unusual detail that they become distinctive. The text is inscribed in virtually identical form on both sides, so it appears that both sides were intended to be read, rather than one side having an

abandoned inscription, which was replaced on the other side. The line numbers given below refer to the text on the side labelled 'front'.

1.1. The text uses the verb ἐπικαλοῦμαι with the accusative for the powers whose intervention is sought. Deissmann notes that it is used in the same way in the LXX and the Early Christian literature and in magical texts.³⁷⁸ Epigraphic examples of comparable ἐπικαλοῦμαι expressions are not found on Delos or other islands of the Cyclades. ἄξιῶ is used here with the meaning of 'offering a prayer' as in the LXX text of Jer 7.16, 9.14; Eccl. 51.14, etc.

11.1–3. Theos Hypsistos clearly refers to the God of Israel, as indicated by the following phrase τὸν Κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς (11. 2–3), which is almost an exact citation of the LXX text of Num 16.22 & 27.16. Deissmann notes that the spirits mentioned here are almost certainly the angels of God.³⁷⁹ Deissmann notes several other allusions to the LXX in the inscription. Thus, he notes that the phrase δόλωι φονεύσαντας in 11.4–5 reflects the OT description of a deliberate murder in Ex 21.14; the word δόλω in 1.4 is used in Deut 27.24 in a forensic sense.

11.3–4. φαρμακεύω most probably does not indicate that the deceased woman was really poisoned, but is part of a standard expression adopted by the Jewish community on Delos, as indicated by its repetition in 1.8 and *Ach*71.

11.5–6. Deissmann suggests that ἐχχέαντας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα corresponds to Deut 19.10: καὶ οὐκ ἐκχυθήσεται αἷμα ἀναίτιον ἐν τῇ γῇ σου..... He also notes the phrase αἷμα ἀναίτιον was common in the LXX.³⁸⁰

11.9–10. The acclamation Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν also has LXX parallels: Job 34.23; 2Macc 12.22, 15.2, etc. The angels of God referred to in the same lines does

³⁷⁸ Deissmann 1927, 416.

³⁷⁹ Deissmann 1927, 416.

³⁸⁰ Deissmann 1927, 418.

not presuppose a special angelic cult. They are invoked to carry out God's vengeance. Deissmann notes that the prayer 'keeps well within the bounds of the Biblical creed'.³⁸¹

Il.10–11. *πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ταπεινοῦνται μεθ' ἱκετείας* refers, most probably, to the Day of Atonement. Deissmann notes that the expression *ψυχὴ + ταπεινώω* probably means 'fasting' here,³⁸² rather than 'humbling oneself'.³⁸³ He believes that the phrase does not refer to an extraordinary day of prayer and fasting kept by the family of the murdered woman and the community but to the Day of Atonement. If correct, this is the first epigraphic reference to it. The use of a 3rd person plural verb with a singular subject in an inscription which is otherwise grammatically fairly correct may indicate that part of the clause was a citation, although not from the LXX.

Il.12–13. *αἷμα ἐκδικεῖν*, or *αἷμα ζητεῖν/ἐκζητεῖν* occurs very often in the LXX.³⁸⁴ Deissmann notes that the ending of the inscription *τὴν ταχίστην* 'reminds one of the very common ἦδη ἦδη ταχὺ ταχὺ of many prayers of conjuration'.³⁸⁵

The name Heraclea is not otherwise attested in Jewish inscriptions. The name occurs in another epitaph from Rheneia, which prompted Wilhelm to consider it Jewish.³⁸⁶ However, this can not be ascertained.

A wide range of dates has been proposed. Hirschfeld puts the inscription in the 2nd century CE while Dittenberger (SIG ii²) prefers a 1st century CE date. However, it seems that as Homolle, Wolters, von Gaertringen, Wilhelm and Deissmann have

³⁸¹ Deissmann 1927, 418.

³⁸² Lev 16.29, 16.31, 23.27, 23.29, 23.32; Ps 34(35).13, etc.

³⁸³ Isa 2.17; Eccl 2.17; Ps 43(44).26, etc.

³⁸⁴ Deut 22.43; 2Kgs 9.7, 9.50, etc.

³⁸⁵ Deissmann 1927, 421.

³⁸⁶ Wilhelm 1901, 14–9.

observed, on paleographic grounds the inscription should be dated to the 2nd or early 1st century BCE (before the destruction of Delos in 88 BCE).³⁸⁷

Ach71. Epitaph of Martina

Editions: le Bas v 1839, 185-194 no.269; Pittakes 1840, 392 no.515; SIG ii² 1900, no.816; A. Wilhelm, *ÖJh* 4 1901, cols.9-18; Deissmann 1902, 253-65; Deissmann 1923, 351-62; Tocilescu i 1902, 436-77, no.93; Oehler 1909, 444 no.114a; Bergmann 1911, 503-10; SIG iii³ 1920, no.1181; Durrbach 1921/2, i 264-5; Krauss 1922, 243-4 no.97; F. Cumont, *MemPontAcc* 1.1 1923, 77 no.19; CIJ i 1936, no.725b; I.Délos 1937, no.2532.ii; Couilloud 1974, 214 no.485.i; White ii 1997, 338-9 no.3.

Illustrations: Wilhelm 1901, fig.2 (facsimile); Deissmann 1923, 353 fig.75 (photo); Couilloud 1974, fig.485 (photo).

Other bibliography: le Bas & Blouet iii.1 1838, 7; Cumont 1914, 946-7; Cook 1925, ii.2 880-1 no.19; Roberts, Skeat & Nock 1936, 57 (= Nock 1972, 418); Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 99-100; Goodenough, *Symbols* ii 1953, 61; Robert 1960, 433 n.3; Masson 1971, 66-7; Pippidi 1974, 260-1; L. Robert, *CRAI* 1978, 248 n.41; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 70; White 1987, 147 n.60; Trebilco 1991, 133-4 no.4.2; Williams 1998, no.II.133 (English tr.).

Found on Rheneia. Now: Athens, National Museum.

Details: White marble stele with tenon underneath, broken at the top, 56 x 33 x 9 cm. Face severely mutilated.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd – early 1st century BCE.

Text (follows Couilloud 1974):

[ἐπι]κ[αλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Ὑ-]	
[ψ]ιστον [τὸν Κύριον] τῶν [πνευμάτων]	
[καὶ πάσης σαρκός], ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλῳ]	
φονεύσαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαν-	
τας τὴν ταλαίπῳρον ἄωρον Μαρ-	5
θίνην, ἐγγέαντας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτι-	
ον αἷμα ἀδίκῳ, <ἵ>να οὕτως γένηται	
τοῖς φονεύσασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύ-	
σασιν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν. Κύριε	
ὁ πάντα ἐφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ	10
πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τα-	
πεινοῦνται μεθ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐκδικήσης	
τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστην.	

1. Pittakes: .. [κ]αλῶς καὶ δικαίως]

2. Deissmann: [-ψ]ιστο[ν τὸν κύριον] τῶ[ν πνευμάτων]

2-3. le Bas 1839: [αἰ] ἄρα [τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων]

2-3. Pittakes: [εἰς τοὺς [αὐ]τὰ . αἰ ἄρχ] | αἰ πυ ἐπὶ τοὺς [τὸν]

3. Deissmann: π[ά]σης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοὺς [δόλῳ]

4. le Bas 1839: φονεύσαντας κρυφίως]

4. Pittakes: φ[ό]ρον πράξαντας κρυφίως]

4. Deissmann: φονεύσαντας]

³⁸⁷ Deissmann 1927, 422.

5. Deissmann: -τα[ς τὴν θαλάσσιον]
 5-6. le Bas 1839: [τας τὴν δε τὴν εὐ]ωρον ἄωρον μάρ[τυρ] | ο[ν] ἢ καὶ ἐκχέαν[τας] αὐτῆς
 5-6. Pittakes: τα[ς] τὴν δε τὴν καλὴν εὐ]ωρον ἄωρον μάρ[τυρ] | ον
 5-6. Deissmann: Μαρ[θ]ίνην
 6-7. Pittakes: [ἡ καὶ ἀδίκως ἐκχέαν[τας] τὸ ἀναίτι | ον αἱμ[α, τοῦτοις ἀντιποι]να οὕτως γένηται
 7. le Bas 1839: αἱμα καὶ ἀνάθεμα οὕτως γένηται
 10. le Bas 1839: ὁ πάντα [δημιουργ]ῶν
 10. Pittakes: ὁ πάντα γ[ινώσκ]ων
 11. le Bas 1839: ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ
 11. Wilhelm: τῇ; Deissmann: τῇ
 12. Pittakes: πεινοῦται μεθικετείᾳς
 12. Wilhelm: ἐκδικήσῃ[ς]; Deissmann: ἐκδικήσῃ[ς]
 13. Deissmann: ταχίστη[ν]

I call upon and entreat the Highest God, the Lord of the spirits and all flesh, against those who have treacherously murdered or poisoned the wretched, untimely dead Martina, and wickedly spilled her innocent blood, so that the same happens to them, who treacherously murdered or poisoned her, and to their children. O, Lord who see everything, and the angels of God, for whom every soul on this same day humbles itself [or fasts] with supplication, that you avenge the innocent blood, and as soon as possible.

This was found in 1834 on Rheneia. The text of the inscription appears to be identical to *Ach70* apart from the name of the murdered woman, Martina, and it has been reconstructed accordingly. Deissmann suggests the two women may have been murdered and buried together.³⁸⁸ The name Martina occurs in a Jewish epitaph from Rome.³⁸⁹ The name occurs in another epitaph from Rheneia, which prompted Wilhelm to consider it Jewish.³⁹⁰ However, this can not be ascertained. Le Bas considered the inscription Christian and suggested a 11th-12th century CE date. However, it clearly belongs to the same period as *Ach70*, suggested above to be the 2nd – early 1st century BCE.

³⁸⁸ Deissmann 1927, 423–4.

³⁸⁹ JWE i 582 (Μαρτίνα).

³⁹⁰ Wilhelm 1901, 14–9.

Syros

Ach72. Invocation of Eunomius (Pl. XXVII, fig. 1)

Editions: Stephanos 1875, 86 no.80; IG xii 5.1 1903, no.712, 80; Kiourtzian 2000, 173–5 no.108.

Illustrations: Stephanos, pl.2 (squeeze); Kiourtzian, pl.xxxiv (photo).

Found at Grammata Bay, Syros, and preserved *in situ*.

Details: Graffiti inscribed in a *tabula ansata* (26 x 56 cm.). Letters: 4 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE or later.

Text (follows Kiourtzian 2000):

Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῷ δοῦ- (*jug?*) (*menorah*) (*lulab*)
 λῳ σου Εὐνομίῳ
 κὲ πάση τῇ συνπλοί-
 αῖ αὐτοῦ Ναξίοις.

1. There is a horizontal bar above KE marking the abbreviation for Κ(ύρι)ε

1. Ligature of HT

4. IG xii 5.1: Ν[α]ξίοις

Lord help your servant Eunomius and all his crew, Naxians.

This graffito is inscribed on the rocks of Grammata Bay (ὄρμος τῶν Γραμμάτων), zone B', located on the north-west side of Syros.³⁹¹ According to Stephanos, zones B' & B'' are located inside the bay about 70 m. from the beach. The inscribed area of each zone is 40 m². The present inscription and *Ach73* are clearly designated as Jewish, but they are among Christian and pagan inscriptions. The situation seems to have been similar to that at the Temple of Pan at El-Kanais in Egypt, where Jews were willing to put up their own invocations and thanksgivings among those of followers of other religions.³⁹²

The *menorah* is represented with a tripod base and crossbar. The formula Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη in l.1 occurs in sixteen early Christian inscriptions, according to Heiller (in IG), from Grammata Bay.³⁹³ Eleven of these have the abbreviation

³⁹¹ Cf. Kiourtzian 2000, 137–8.

³⁹² JIGRE 121–4.

³⁹³ IG xii 5.1, nos.57, 60–3 (A'); 70–2, 74, 77–9 (B'); 82–3, 88, 90, 98 (B'').

Κ(ύρι)ε.³⁹⁴ In all but one the object of the help is in the dative (the use of -ο for the dative ending is common). The formula occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Caesarea and Scythopolis,³⁹⁵ although it is more typical of Christian epigraphy. The abbreviation θ.β. (θεὸς βοηθός) is found in inscriptions from Alexandria³⁹⁶ and Ascalon,³⁹⁷ and in full the formula begins face α of the Aphrodisias inscription.³⁹⁸ κύριος βοηθός occurs often in the LXX.³⁹⁹ The purpose of the formula here and in many inscriptions from Grammata Bay is clear: to ask for blessing on a forthcoming sea voyage.

The use of δοῦλος in the sense of being God's slave is characteristic of Christian inscriptions, including 21 from Grammata Bay.⁴⁰⁰ It is not attested otherwise in Jewish inscriptions, although the term is used in the LXX, with the meaning of 'servant of God', in reference to the patriarchs⁴⁰¹ and the kings of Israel.⁴⁰²

The name Eunomius, a form of Εὐνομος, is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions. Kiourtzian suggests that the name would be attractive to Jews because of its meaning: 'under good laws' or 'well-ordered' (LSJ s.v.).

σύνπλοια (written σύμ- in standard orthography, but with very variable spelling in practice) means literally 'a shared voyage', but here, and in other inscriptions from Grammata Bay, it is used with the meaning of 'ship's crew'. Many inscriptions from the Grammata Bay ask the Lord for help in the coming voyage, the save the crew⁴⁰³ or individual sailors.⁴⁰⁴ IG xii 5.1, 81 is worded similarly to the present inscription, but

³⁹⁴ IG xii 5.1, nos. 57, 60, 70-2, 74, 78-9, 88, 90, 98.

³⁹⁵ Lifshitz 1967, nos. 64, 77a.

³⁹⁶ JIGRE nos. 16-17.

³⁹⁷ Lifshitz 1967, no. 84.

³⁹⁸ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 5.

³⁹⁹ Ps 17(18).3, 26(27).9, 27(28).7, 113.17-19, 117.6-7; Isa 17.10, 50.7, etc.

⁴⁰⁰ IG xii 5.1, nos. 61-3, 67, 71-2, 74, 76-7, 79, 81-3, 87-92, 95, 98.

⁴⁰¹ Abraham: Ps 104(105).42.

⁴⁰² Saul and David: 1Sam 23.11, 26.17-19; 2Sam 7.5; Ps 26(27).9, etc.

⁴⁰³ IG xii 5.1, 7, 12, 56, 65, 78, 94.

⁴⁰⁴ IG xii 5.1, 64, 75, 93, 96, 97.

gives thanks for a safe voyage. Like the person mentioned in IG xii 5.1, 81 (Aster) Eunomius could be the owner of the ship or just a passenger on it.

Although the editors do not date the inscription, Hillier (IG) suggests that it is from the 'Early Christian period', but he does not define this. Since its format is basically Christian, it cannot be earlier than the 4th century CE.⁴⁰⁵

Ach73. Thanksgiving of Heortylis

Editions: Stephanos 1875, 88 no.99; IG xii 5.1 1903, no.712,99; Kiourtzian 2000, 182–3 no.118.

Illustrations: Stephanos 1875, pl.2 (drawing); IG (drawing, from Stephanos).

Inscription discovered in Syros. Now: Grammata bay, *in situ*.

No details published.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th century CE or later(?).

Text (follows Kiourtzian 2000):

ἐπὶ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ ζῶντος]
(*menorah*) Εἰωρτύλις [? Ἰουδα]ῖος
σωθὶς, ὑπὲρ [εὐπλ]ύα[ς?].

1. There is a horizontal bar above ΘΥ marking the abbreviation for Θεοῦ

1. 1. ὀνόματος, ζῶντος

2. Stephanos, IG xii 5.1: Εἰωρτύλις ... τος

3. Stephanos: σωθὶς ὑπε...υα

3. IG xii 5.1: σωθὶς ὑπε--

4. 1. σωθεῖς

4. 1. εὐπλοίας

In the name of the living God, Heortylis the Jew(?), having returned safely, for a good voyage(?).

This graffito comes from near Ach72, in zone B'' of the inscriptions. The *menorah* represented with a horizontal bar in Stephanos' and Hillier's (in IG) squeezes is no longer visible.

The formula ἐπὶ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ ζῶντος is unique among the inscriptions from Grammata Bay and is otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions. According to Kiourtzian, it echoes the LXX text of Dt 4.33 (Θεοῦ ζῶντος), Num 14.21, 14.28, etc.

⁴⁰⁵ Pagan gods such as Asclepius are also invoked at the site, but using different formulae.

A possible indication of the full meaning of the formula is found in the NT (Rev 15.7): τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ('of the God who lives for ever and ever').

The name Εἰωρτύλις, a form of Ἑορτύλιος i.e. Ἑορτύλος (LGPN i, s.v.), is formed from the word ἑορτή (feast, holiday; LSJ s.v.) and the suffix -ύλος.⁴⁰⁶ Names formed on the basis of ἑορτή are rarely found in Jewish inscriptions: Εἰορτάσις occurs in inscription VI from the mosaic floor of Tiberias synagogue.⁴⁰⁷ The present name, however, is not attested in Jewish inscriptions.

Kiourtzian restores [Ἰουδαῖος because of the presence of a *menorah* in the inscription. Although the occurrence of Eortylis' ethnic in the inscription is probable – invocations from Grammata Bay sometimes give the supplicants' ethnics but not their patronymics – the restoration [Ἰουδαῖος is debatable, since *Ach72* shows that a Jew can be given a local ethnic.

σωθίς (l. σωθείς) at the beginning of l.3 literally means 'saved', but should probably be understood less dramatically as indicating a safe return. It is not found otherwise at Grammata Bay, but the imperative of σώζω is common. The participle was used at El-Kanais, including in one of the Jewish inscriptions: σωθεὶς ἐκ πελ<άγ>ους.⁴⁰⁸ It shows that the inscription, unlike most of those at the site including *Ach72*, was put up retrospectively rather than prospectively. εὐπλοία, tentatively restored at the end of the line, occurs in seven inscriptions from Grammata Bay, mainly invocations to a deity for a safe sea voyage. The term also occurs in an inscription from the mosaic floor of the Elche synagogue.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ Bechtel 1917, 522; Panayotou 1985, 9–27.

⁴⁰⁷ Lifshitz 1967, 63, no. 76.

⁴⁰⁸ JIGRE 121.

⁴⁰⁹ JIWE i 182. It may have been intended in 164, from Malta.

The only date suggested, as with *Ach72*, is by Hillier (IG): the 'early Christian period'. This inscription does not use Christian language as *Ach72*, but may be from approximately the same date, as most of the inscriptions at the site seem to be.

Ach74. Dedication of a building by Herod the Great

Editions: Stephanos 1874, 653-6, no. 16; Stephanos 1875, 48-51, no. 16 (A only); IG xii 5.1 1903, no. 713⁶ (A only); Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988, 87-99 (A-C); SEG xxxviii 1988, no.825.

Other bibliography: Richardson 1996, 205-6 no.4 (English tr.).

Three fragments discovered separately on Syros. Now: Lost (A); Privately owned (B); Built into the church of St. George (San Georgio) in Ano Syros (C).

Details: Inscription written across three pieces of white marble, probably part of the architrave of a large Doric building (*regulae* and *guttae* survive partially in A; there are traces of dried cement along the *regulae*). Dimensions of A: 173 x 73 x 10 cm; B: 110 x 34 cm; C: 66 x 33 cm.

Letters (A-C): 12 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 27-4 BCE.

Text (follows Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988):

Βασιλ[εὺς Ἡ]ρώδ[ης] τῶι δῆμ[ωι] τῶι - - -]

A. Stephanos, IG xii 5.1: ΠΩΔ[-]ΣΤΩΙ on the stone

B. Mantzoulinou-Richards: ΒΑΣΙΑ on the stone

C. Mantzoulinou-Richards: ΔΗΜ on the stone

King Herod to the people

According to Stephanos, fragment A of the inscription was found in 1874 among the ruins of the church of St. Michael at the village of Paraskeva, the ancient port Phoinikas. Phoinikas is located on the west coast of Syros. Mantzoulinou-Richards found fragment B in the village of Poseidonia (Dellagratsia) in September 1987. The stone was used as terrace foundation in the garden of a privately owned house. It was brought there from a warehouse for used building material (*mandra*) near the village. Fragment C was found in 1988 built into an exterior wall of the church of St. George (San Georgio) in Ano Syros. Ano Syros is at distance of about 12 kms from the villages Paraskeva and Poseidonia. Stephanos never saw fragment A by himself but was given a squeeze by a friend. According to him at that time the stone was

transferred to a wine-press near the village of Paraskeva. Its present whereabouts are unknown. Stephanos related fragment A to an inscription, mentioning the priest of Sarapis Aristeas son of Ariestas of Marathon (IG xii 5.1 1903, no. 713⁵; IDélos 2210), which was found at the same spot. He thought that fragment A was part of the architrave of a temple on Syros built by Herodes Atticus, who also brought a priest from his home town of Marathon.⁴¹⁰ However, the inscription of Aristeas of Marathon proved to have come from Delos, where he is well attested in inscriptions.⁴¹¹ Hiller der Gaetringen, the editor of IG xii 5.1, was the first to suggest, although with no explanation, the probable Delian origin of the fragment A. Mantzoulinou-Richards suggests that the stones may have come from Delos as there are no large public buildings from antiquity found on Syros⁴¹², although Josephus does not mention any donations by Herod on Delos. The fragments most probably found their way to Syros as a building material. It is known that the island was used for centuries by the population of the neighbouring islands as some sort of a 'quarry' for well-cut stones. Thus, inscriptions from Delos are found on Syros⁴¹³ and Chios.⁴¹⁴ Mantzoulinou-Richards also observes that the port of Phoinikas, where fragment A was found, is only 3.6 km from the Poseidonia (findspot of fragment B) and that Phoinikas was most likely 'one of the market places for stones from Delos'.⁴¹⁵ She then suggests that the inscription was placed, probably over a portico or porch, in the *xystos* (a covered colonnade in the gymnasium) adjoining the stadium (GD 78) of Delos. Her assumption is based on the evidence for Herod's interest in athletics (he was himself a

⁴¹⁰ Stephanos 1875, 15-6, 49, n. 31.

⁴¹¹ I.Délos 2010, 2107, 2508.

⁴¹² This was also the assumption of the editor of IG xii 5.1 1903.

⁴¹³ IG xii 5.1 1903, no. 713⁶; IG xii 5.1 1903, nos. 713¹⁻⁴ were taken from Rhenea.

⁴¹⁴ SEG xxiii, 494.

⁴¹⁵ Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988, 91.

good athlete).⁴¹⁶ It is known that he made generous donations for the Olympic games, paid for the office of the *gymnasiarch* in Cos, supported the building of gymnasiums in Tripolis, Ptolemais and Damascus and even organised games, similar to the Olympic, in Judaea.⁴¹⁷ The *xystos* was considered to be a dedication of Ptolemy IX on the basis of I.Délos 1531, but as the SEG editor notes that inscription 'refers only to a door leading from a vestibule in the gymnasium to the *xystos* of the stadion'. Mantzoulinou-Richards notes that the size of Herod's inscription suggests that it was placed on the '(outside) southwest portico of the *xystos* facing the 36-meter long (approximately 118') tribune of the officials and the spectators who could read from accross such monumental letters'.⁴¹⁸

That this inscription is a dedication by Herod the Great and not Herod Antipas is clear from the title 'king' applied to him. The inscription cannot be dated more precisely than 37–4 BCE as Herod is only described as 'king' without any additional epithets.

⁴¹⁶ *BJ* 1. 429.

⁴¹⁷ *BJ* 1.422, 426–8; *AJ* 15.268–71; *AJ* 16.149.

⁴¹⁸ Mantzoulinou-Richards 1988, 95.

*Uncertain origin***Ach75. Epitaph from Rome**

Editions: Fasola 1976, 20; SEG xxvi 1976, no.1163; JIWE ii 1995, no.503.

Other bibliography: Vismara 1986, 356 n.83.

Inscribed on the north wall of Gall. A1 in the upper catacomb of Villa Torlonia, Rome.

Details: Painted in red on plastered tile closing loculus.

Letters: 3.5–6 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd–4th century CE.

Text (follows JIWE ii 1995):

ἐνθάδε κῆτε Ι[- - -]

Ἀχαϊάς ἐν ἱρή[νῃ - -]

1. Fasola: [ἀπὸ τῆς]

2. Fasola: ἱρή[νῃ ἢ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ/-τῆς]

Here lies I..... of/from Achaëa. In peace

The person buried here apparently came to Rome from the Roman province of Achaia. The exact place of origin, however, is not stated.

Chapter 7

CRETE

According to Tacitus the Jews acquired their ethnic from the mountains of Ida, which he locates in Crete.¹ This evidence is without doubt legendary.² Gortyn received a letter from Rome about the Jews in 140 BCE, which may indicate a Jewish presence on the island then.³ Crete was conquered by Rome as a result of the wars with Mithridates VI and the pirates, and formed half the province of Crete and Cyrene until 4th century CE. The impostor Alexander who claimed to be Herod's son received financial help from Cretan Jews.⁴ Philo mentions Crete as one of the places with a Jewish 'colony' in the 1st century CE⁵, and Josephus married a Jewish woman from (he says) a leading Jewish family of Crete, presumably At Rome in the 70s CE.⁶ Cretans were in Jerusalem for the Pentacost.⁷ In the 430s a person claiming to be Moses allegedly deceived the Cretan Jews that he will cross the sea and many of those who followed him drowned or were rescued and converted to Christianity.⁸ An unpublished inscription in the Museum of Heraklion mentioning an *archisynagogos* appears to be pagan not Jewish, and

¹ *Hist.* 5, 2.1

² Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 340 and Homer, *Iliad* 12, 19-20, who state that the Ida mountains are in Phrygia. Stern, *GLAJJ* ii 1980, 32-3.

³ 1Macc 15.17-23.

⁴ Josephus, *BJ* 2, 101-3.

⁵ Philo, *Legat.* 282.

⁶ *Vita* 427.

⁷ Acts 2.10.

⁸ Socrates Scholasticus, *Hist. Eccl.* vii.38 (PG 67, 825-8)

probably to originate from or concern someone from Thessaloniki rather than Crete.⁹

Arcades (Kassanoi)

The village of Kassanoi is located 43.5 km south-east of Heraklion at the site of ancient Arcades.

Cre1. Epitaph of Judas

Editions: I.Cret. i 1935, 12, no. 17; Bandy, 1970, 142, App. no.2; CIJ i² 1975, no.731d; Spyridakis 1988, 173–4, no.B; SEG xxxviii 1988, no.895.

Illustrations: Bandy 1970, 142.

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 102; Revised Schürer iii.1, 1986, 72; van der Horst 1988, 197.

Found at Kassanoi. Now: Kassanoi in the house of Emmanouel Tamiolakes.

Details: White marble stele, 44 x 23 x 10 cm.

Letters: 2–3.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd–4th century CE.

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

Ἰώσηφος
 Θεοδώρου
 Ἰούδα τῷ υ-
 ἱῷ αὐτοῦ
 <μ>νείας χάρι- 5
 ν · ἐτῶν α΄.
 (hedera) (hedera)

5. ACNEIAC on the stone (I.Cret; Bandy)

6. There is a horizontal bar over the numeral α΄

Joseph (son) of Theodorus for Judas his son, for the sake of (his) memory. (Aged) 1 years [sic].

The inscription was found in the Ἑβραῖ (=Ἑβραῖοι) area near modern Kassanoi, which according to Bandy was reputed to be the site of an ancient Jewish cemetery.¹⁰ The use of the name Judas makes its Jewishness almost

⁹ Information supplied by Dr. David Noy. The inscription is mentioned by Kritzas in *Mentor* 32 1994, 213.

¹⁰ Bandy 1970, 142.

certain.¹¹ Guarducci and Lifshitz suggest that the names Ἰώσηφος and Ιοῦδα indicate the family is of Palestinian origin. This, however, cannot be ascertained. Bandy also notes that the Christian epitaphs from Crete do not record patronymics, which, he suggests, supports the view that the inscription is more likely to be Jewish rather than Christian.¹² An interesting feature of the inscription is the use of the plural ἔτων (years) for a single number. Guarducci, followed by Bandy, dates the inscription to the 3rd–4th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

Cre2. Epitaph

Edition: Kritzas 1990, 11 no.4.

Found at Kassanoi, Crete. Now: Archaeological Museum of Herakleion (inv. no. BE 613)

Details: Stele of yellowish marble, broken below and on the right, 21.5 x 28 x 12.5 cm.

Letters: 3–4.5 cm. (before Φ); 2.5 cm (after O). Distance between lines: 1.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: Imperial period(?)

Text (follows Kritzas 1990):

Εἰώσηφος Β[ερε-?]
 νείκη τῇ ἐ[δίῳ]
 [γυναι.]κ[ὶ] μνήμης / μνείας
 [χάριν.]

1–2. Βερενείκη=Βερενίκη

1–2. Kritzas: Βερενείκη or Βερονείκη

2. 1. ἰδίῳ

Joseph for Berenice(?) his wife, for the sake of (her) memory.

Panagia Pediados, a resident of the village of Kassanoi, presented this inscription in 1987 to the then keeper of the antiquities of Crete Georgios Stratakis. According to her report she found the inscription in the field of Emmanuel Krithinakis located in the Karnomouri area, belonging to the village of Kassanoi. The commemorator's name Εἰώσηφος is a form of Ἰώσηφος, a transliteration of

¹¹ The name was very popular among Jews and was avoided by Christians because of its negative connotations. Cf. *Achl.*

¹² Bandy 1970, 142.

יוסף, and is found in this form on a Jewish inscription from Aphrodisias;¹³ cf. Εἰδοδαῖος in *Ach*40. The end of the partly preserved l.1 included either the name of the deceased wife of Joseph or his patronymic. The reading Β[ερε]νεῖκη is very likely as it would be consistent with the size of restoration in l.2. Βερενεῖκη occurs as a personal name on a Jewish epitaph from Cyrenaica.¹⁴ The substitution of the classical Greek εἰ diphthong for the vowel ι, which occurs three times in the inscription, was common in the late Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁵ The epitaph does not follow the arrangement of the Christian epitaphs from Crete, which in most cases start with the verb ἀνεπαύσατο (break; pause; rest), not with the name of the author of the epitaph.¹⁶

Kritzas dates the inscription to the 'Imperial period' on palaeographic grounds. The similarity in form to *Cre*1 suggests that it could be also from the 3rd-4th century, and that is perhaps more likely to be Jewish than Christian.

Kastelli Kissamou

Kastelli Kissamou is located 42 km. west of Hania and is the capital of Kissamus county. The ruins of the ancient city of Polyrinia are located 7 km. south of Kastelli Kissamou. Ancient Kissamos was the commercial centre of Western Crete and was one of the Polyrinia's sea-ports. Kissamos flourished during the Roman and Byzantine periods when it was established as an episcopal seat. The town was fortified by the Venetians in the 15th century and the fortress (*castello*) gave Kissamos its present name: Kastelli Kissamou.

¹³ Reynolds & Tannenbaum 1987, 5, a l.22.

¹⁴ CJZC no. 4.

¹⁵ Gignac i 1976, 190-1.

¹⁶ Bandy 1970, 14.

Cre3. Epitaph of Sophia of Gortyn (Pl. XXVII, fig. 2)

Editions: Bandy 1963, 227–9 no.1; Bandy 1970, 142–3, App. no.3; CIJ i² 1975, no.731c; Brooten 1982, 11–12, 41; Spyridakis 1988, 174–5 no.C; Rajak & Noy 1993, 86, 90 no.11 (follows Brooten).

Illustrations: Bandy 1963, pl.64 (photo from the stone); Bandy 1970, 143 (photo from the stone); Brooten 1982, pl.ii.

Other bibliography: BE 1964, no.413; Mentzu-Meimaris 1982, 450, nos.108, 116; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 71–2; Kant 1987, 698, n.170; van der Horst 1988, 198–9; Trebilco 1991, 111–13, nn.1, 5; SEG xxxviii 1988, no.913; Nystrom 1996, 96–8; Williams 1998, no.V.33 (English tr.); SEG xlviii 1998, no. 1214; Brooten 2000, 215–6.

Found at Kastelli Kissamou. Now: Kastelli Kissamou Archaeological Collection.

Details: Plaque of white marble, 45 x 30 x 2.8 cm.

Letters: 1.5–3 cm. Distance between lines: 0.5–1.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th–5th century CE.

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975 and photo):

Σοφία Γορτυνί-
α πρεσβυτέρα
κὲ ἀρχισυναγω-
γίσσα Κισάμου ἔν-
θα. μνήμη δικέας 5
ἰς ἔθνα. ἀμήν.

3. l. καὶ

5. l. δικαίας

6. l. εἰς αἰῶνα

Sophia of Gortyn, presbytera and archisynagogissa of Kissamus, (lies) here. The memory of the righteous woman (be) forever. Amen.

The inscription was found at Kastelli Kissamou in 1959. The first editor classified it as Jewish or Judeo-Christian,¹⁷ but Robert and Lifshitz both recognized the inscription as Jewish on basis of the titles applied to the deceased woman. Sophia came from Gortyn but held office at Kissamus, perhaps because she was a property-owner in both places or because she had moved when she got married. The name Sophia is otherwise unattested on Jewish inscriptions. On the term πρεσβυτέρα cf. *Thr*3.

¹⁷ Bandy 1963, 227.

The form ἀρχισυναγωγίσσα is formed in the same way as ἀρχηγίσσα at Nea Anchialos, Thessaly, from a 2nd declension masculine noun (cf. *Ach18*). Bandy considers it an honorary title or term that indicates that Sophia was a wife of an ἀρχισυνάγωγος. Brooten, followed by van der Horst, suggests that ἀρχισυναγωγίσσα was not honorary title, but indicated the office which Sophia herself held within the Jewish community of Kissamos.¹⁸ Although this is possible we should note that there is no compelling evidence for the exact nature of this office. However, Rajak & Noy suggest a similarity between pagan practice of offering honours and titles to wealthy and politically influential women benefactors and the case of the Jewish women title-holders. They also note that if women were office-holders within the Jewish community their duties were 'patronal and perhaps ceremonial rather than religious'.¹⁹ Other female holders of the title ἀρχισυνάγωγος are attested at Smyrna, where Rufina, called Ἰουδαία, built a tomb for her ex-slaves, and at Myndos in Caria, where Theopempte and her son Eusebius donated a chancel-screen.²⁰

The concluding formula in ll.5–6 derives, most probably, from the LXX text of Prov 10.7: μνήμη δικαίων μετ' ἐγκωμίων ('The memory of the righteous with a blessing'), a phrase which is found in Hebrew, Greek and Latin in other Jewish epitaphs.²¹ In the LXX δίκαιος translates the Hebrew term צַדִּיק, the just or righteous (sing. or pl.), frequently referred to in Psalms and Proverbs.²² However, none of these texts explains what makes one person righteous or just. Elsewhere צַדִּיק designates a person who conducts himself properly and according to the law

¹⁸ Brooten 1982, 12.

¹⁹ Rajak & Noy 1993, 87; this point applies equally to male office-holders.

²⁰ CIJ 741, 756.

²¹ References at JIWE i, p.332; JIWE ii, p.540.

²² Ps 1.5, 6; 13[12]; 64.10; 68.3; 72.7; 92.13[12]; Prov 10–15.

(in certain cases someone who is innocent).²³ This agrees with the meaning of δίκαιος in the Greek tradition where it could mean someone observant of custom, rule or of duty to gods and men (LSJ, s.v.). The term is often related to ὅσιος (cf. *Mac9*). δίκαιος occurs in concluding formulas like μετὰ τῶν δικαίων ἢ κοιμήσις σου ('Your sleep with the righteous') in the Jewish epitaphs from Rome.²⁴ Bandy notes the frequent occurrence of the phrase εἰς αἰῶνα in the LXX and the New Testament.²⁵

Bandy dates the inscription to the 1st–2nd century CE on paleographic grounds, but his date was corrected by Robert, who proposed a 4th–5th century date also on paleographic grounds.

²³ Deut 4.8; 16.19; 25.1; 29; Ezekiel 18; Gen 18.22–32.

²⁴ JIWE ii 235, 270, 329, 342, 406, 533

²⁵ Bandy 1963, 228–9, nn.19–20.

Appendix 1

Probably Mediaeval Inscriptions

App1. Brick fragments from Pannonia Inferior

Excavations by Novi-Sad Museum at Čelarevo (Cséb) revealed a necropolis from the 'Great Migration' period, and a number of brick fragments with Jewish symbols: *menorah*, *ethrog*, *lulab*, *mahtah* (Scheiber calls it 'ash-cleaning spade').¹ An exhibition was held at the Museum of Jewish History, Belgrade in 1980,² and a conference in Feb. 1981.³ The site of the excavations is in the Čibrska šuma area, next to the local brickworks ('ciglana'), in Vojvodina (Serbia & Montenegro). The site is 1.6 km. south-west of modern Čelarevo and 0.5 km. from the Danube. The first evidence for the existence of the necropolis was found in 1966 (a few brick and pottery fragments), but it was not until 1972 when the systematic exploration of the site started. The excavations were conducted between 1972 and 1981, under the direction of D. Vilotijević and R. Bunardžić, and revealed 310 graves.⁴ Unfortunately, a large part of the necropolis was dug up, and thus ruined, by the workers of the brickworks, who searched the grounds for deposits of clay. The graves in the necropolis had different orientations: 85% had a west-south-west to east-north-east alignment, and 15% were oriented in various other directions.⁵ According to the excavation's anthropologist, S. Živanović, the human remains

¹ Scheiber 1982, 495–6 no.2, figs.2–3 (photo).

² Exhibition 'Menoroth from Čelarevo', Museum of Jewish History, Belgrade, Belgrade 1980.

³ Kovačević 1983.

⁴ Bunardžić estimates that in the whole necropolis there were approximately 800 graves. Bunardžić 1980, 1–6; Bunardžić *ap. Kovačević* 1983, 17–18.

⁵ Bunardžić 1980, 7.

suggest that the people buried in Čelarevo necropolis were 'of Mongol race with clear traits of north-Mongolian branch'.⁶ According to Bunardžić, the archaeological data recovered from the necropolis and the anthropological analysis suggest a late 8th-century or early 9th-century CE date. He further relates the existence of the necropolis to the last years of the Avar domination in this part of Pannonia.⁷

By 1981 more than 130 brick fragments with Jewish symbols were found, in most cases out of context, in parts of the necropolis already dug up by the brickworks workers. These were the only brick fragments found at the site.⁸ Seven fragments were found *in situ* in four graves located in part of the necropolis that has been dug up and plundered some time after the site was abandoned (graves nos.21, 230-1, 256). These graves have a west-east orientation. According to the excavator's report the fragments with Jewish symbols were found at the bottom of each grave. This position is explained with the fact that the graves were turned up and plundered.⁹ On almost all brick fragments the *menorah* is represented with crossbar, flames and tripod, between a roughly rectangular symbol which could be an *ethrog* and a right-angled one which could be a *mahtah* (cat.nos.1-3, 5-6, 106-178).¹⁰ Two fragments represent a *menorah* with nine branches (cat.nos. 113-4). One brick fragment (no.110; fig.3) has a Hebrew inscription read by L. Rahmani & E. Fleischer as יְהוּדָה (Judah) and by J. Naveh as יְהוּדָה וִי ('Judah, woe!').¹¹ Scheiber thinks that the Jewish symbols are from the Roman period, and the bricks are from a Roman cemetery and reused in Avar graves. However, according to

⁶ Bunardžić 1978-9, 52; Bunardžić 1980, 21.

⁷ Bunardžić 1980, 21-2.

⁸ Bunardžić 1978-9, 49-51; Bunardžić & Kovačević *ap.* Kovačević 1983, 12-14, 63-64.

⁹ Bunardžić 1978-9, 48-9, pl.X, 1-4; pl. XI, 1-6; Bunardžić 1980, 14-16.

¹⁰ Bunardžić 1980, 51-3, 76-94.

Bunardžić the bricks were most probably taken from the nearby Roman fort of Castellum Onagrinum or from some other Roman site in the area.¹² They were broken into pieces (the whole bricks were too heavy for transportation) and then taken to the necropolis. The Jewish symbols were added later – this is shown by their careful composition, in most cases corresponding to the size of each brick fragment.¹³

App2. Inscription from a late mediaeval synagogue(?) at Patras

Editions: Pouqueville 1826-7, iv 65, no. 3 (majusc.); CIG iv 1877, no. 9896; Oehler 1909, 444 no. 113; Krauss 1922, 243, no. 95; CIJ i 1936, no. 716 (after CIG iv 1877); Rizakis 1998, 275-6, no. 293.

Other bibliography: SEG xi 1950, no. 1264; Thomopoulos 1950, 433; Urdahl 1968, 54; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Lampropoulou 1993, 676; Lampropoulou 1995, 45-7, 52-3; Moutzali 1995, 80.

Found at Patras. Now: Lost.

Details: Fragment of a white marble plaque. No measures given.

Language: Greek. Date: Undated.

Text (follows Rizakis 1998):

ΑΨΚΕ[...]ΔΕΚ ΙΔΑΝΙΗΛΟΥ[...]ΤΙΜΟ[...]ΤΑΕΦΔΗ
ΠΙΕΙΩΤΕΝ[...]ΟΝΣΡΙΑΣ

1. Rizakis: Δανιή<λ>(?)

1. Rizakis: ὁ ὑπερτιμος?

2. Rizakis: Σ<υ>ρίας(?)

Pouqueville recorded this inscription built in the stairs of the synagogue at Patras. He did not take any measures from the stone or the letters. The inscription was later lost. Kirchoff (GIG) and Oehler, followed by Frey, considered the inscription as possibly ancient and included it in their collections. However, as Rizakis has noted the inscription is most probably from the post-Byzantine period. He suggested the letters ΑΨΚΕ in l.1 correspond to the year 1725 and that ΟΥ...ΤΙΜΟ should be read as the title ὁ ὑπερτιμος ('the very honourable'), which is attested for

¹¹ L.I. Rahmani & E. Fleischer *apud* Kovačević 1983, 9–11.

¹² Bunardžić 1980, 10–11.

the first time in the 12th century CE.¹⁴ It is more likely, however, that I.1 has the name Δανιήλ in the gen., i.e. Δανιήλου. Benjamin of Tudela describes in the 12th century CE that the Jewish community in Patras consisted only of fifty members.¹⁵

App3. Hebrew inscription from Larissa (1Sam 1.13) (Pl. XXVII, fig. 3)

Unpublished. Now: Larissa, Ancient Theatre A, *in situ*.

Language: Hebrew Date: Uncertain.

Text (follows personal inspection):

(*bearded human face*) וְחַנָּה הִיא מִדְּבָרָתָּהּ
עַל-לִבָּהּ

Now Hannah, she spoke in her heart...

The graffito is scratched at the back of the top side of a marble block (seat) in the row before the last row of seats in Theatre A of Larissa. It appears that the graffito is a citation of 1Sam 1.13 ('Now Hannah, she spoke in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard'), an important text in the Hebrew prayer. It is not known under what circumstances and when the graffito appeared on the stone seat. The seat may have been moved to the Jewish cemetery of Larissa (see p. 110) and the graffito added there or it could have been part of some sort of meeting place during the Middle ages. There is no evidence for the existence of Jewish community in Larissa in the Middle ages, but there was a Romaniote community, which was absorbed by the Sephardic community in the 16th century.

¹³ Bunardžić 1980, 10; Đ. Bošković *apud* Kovačević 1983, 17–18.

¹⁴ Sophocles 1914, 1115.

¹⁵ Benjamin of Tudela 10, Asher & Adler 1987, 15–6; cf. further Moutzali 1995, 78–86.

Appendix 2

Inscriptions not considered Jewish**App4. Epitaph of an Alexandrian (Tomis) (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 1)**

Editions: Teodorescu, A. *BCMI* 1914, 189–90 no.17, [*not seen*]; Parvan, *AA* 1915, 252 (from the stone); Danov 1938, 14 no.126; CIJ i² 1975, no.681b; Popescu 1976, 63–4, no.28; Barnea 1977, 42–3, no.9; Barnea 1979, 60 no.21; Stoian 1987, 369–70, no.463 (13).

Illustrations: Teodorescu, pl.23 (photo); Popescu, 64 (drawing); Barnea 1957, fig.5 (drawing); Barnea 1972, pl.7 (drawing); Stoian 1987, 370 (drawing).

Other bibliography: Vulpe 1938, 208, no.2; BE 1939, no.235; Ferrua 1941, 45; Barnea, 1954, 98–9, no.17; Barnea, 1957, 274; Velkov 1959, 252; Velkov 1965, 21, n.17; Barnea 1972, 261–2; Horsley 1977, 202–3, no.114; Horsley 1978, 60, no.21; Revised Schürer iii.1, 1986, 72; Williams 1998, no. I.96 (English tr.).

Found at Tomis (Constanța). Present whereabouts unknown (formerly in the Regional Archaeological Museum of Dobrudja).

Details: Fragment of a sandstone plaque, broken above and below, 35 x 24 x 3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–6th century CE?

Text (follows Popescu 1976, with restoration of l.1 proposed by Ferrua 1941 and CIJ i²):

[--- υ]ῖος
[Σ]έππωνος
οἰνέμπορ-
ος Ἀλεξαν-
δρίας. (*palm-branch*) 5
(*pentagram*)

1. Teodorescu, Barnea, Stoian: πιος

1. Popescu: ιος

2. Teodorescu: Σέππωνος

..... son(?) of Seppon, a wine merchant from Alexandria.

The inscription has been identified by Ferrua, and accepted by Velkov, Lifshitz in CIJ i², Schürer and Williams as Jewish on basis of the palm branch and the five-pointed star (pentagram) inscribed on the stone. Barnea interpreted the palm branch as a Christian symbol and, accordingly, suggested the inscription is

Christian, and proposed the 6th century CE as a possible date.¹ Popescu assumed gnostic or Pythagorean origin of the pentagram. In his first review of Barnea's arguments, Horsley considered the pentagram a Jewish symbol and accepted that the deceased was a Jew.² Subsequently, he also noted that both symbols were widely used in Antiquity and, therefore, could not be accepted as indicators of whether the inscription is Jewish or Christian. He also agreed that the inscription might be Christian if Barnea's date is accepted.³ Barnea, however, did not provide any arguments in support of such a late date and therefore his suggestion is hypothetical. Teodorescu, followed by Velkov, put the inscription in the 5th century, while Robert only registered it with no commentary.

The pentagram appears throughout Antiquity in different cultural and religious contexts and was not an exclusively Jewish symbol.⁴ In Jewish contexts it is found on a frieze fragment from the synagogue of Capernaum,⁵ and in an inscription from Spain (Tortosa, 5th–6th century).⁶ In the Balkans, pentagrams also appear as builder's signs, together with menorahs, swastikas, crosses and other symbols, on the walls of Diocletian's palace at Salona (Split).⁷

Σέπνονος could be treated either as a nom. sing. or gen. sing. of the name Σέπνον. If the name is treated as a nom. sing. the -ίδος in l.1 is much more likely to be the end of a *nomen*, e.g. Aurelios. That would also fit into the beginning of

¹ Barnea 1977, 42.

² Horsley 1982, 202.

³ Horsley 1983, 60.

⁴ de Vogel 1966, 28–51.

⁵ Goodenough 1953, vol.3 no.473.

⁶ JIWE i 183.

⁷ Rismondo 1994, 202–205, pl.X, nos.366, 378, 415, 480, 485.

1.1 without needing another line above. The name Seppon is of Egyptian origin and otherwise unattested in Jewish inscriptions and papyri.⁸

App5. Epitaph of Simon (Philippi)

Editions: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Bakirtzis 1995, 85; SEG xlv 1995, no.793; Pilhofer 2000, 381–2, no.381a/G787 III.

Illustrations: Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Bakirtzis, pl.72 (photo).

Other bibliography: BE 1997, no.412(2); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1998, 35 n.167.

Found at the site of ancient Philippi. Now: Philippi, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.A 1776.

Details: Marble plaque, 55 x 44 x 11 cm. Letters: 4–5 cm. Space between lines: 4 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd century CE.

Text (follows Pilhofer 2000):

Σίμων
Σμυρνάι-
ο ^{vacat} ς

Simon from Smyrna.

Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Bakirtzis consider the inscription Jewish because of the name of the deceased man.⁹ Mussies notes that Σίμων is part of a group of names chosen by Jews ‘because of their phonetic resemblance to specific Hebrew ones’.¹⁰ Σίμων, Σμεών or Συμεών, are transliterations of the Hebrew name שמעון. Simon was the original name of Apostle Peter.¹¹ The name Σίμων occurs on Jewish inscriptions from Rome (3rd–4th century CE),¹² Cyrenaica,¹³ Jaffa (5th century CE).¹⁴ It also occurs on papyri and *ostraca* from Egypt and Palestine.¹⁵ The form *Symonas* is

⁸ Ranke 1935, 281–2. A possible variation of the name, Σάπων (ος), is mentioned in the *Suidas* 101, ed. Adler 1935, 322.

⁹ Text reproduced in Pilhofer 2000, 2.381.

¹⁰ Mussies 1994, 249.

¹¹ Mk 3.16; Acts 10.5; 15.14, etc.

¹² JIWE ii 52, 310.

¹³ CJZC 7a–c, 10–11, 13b, 13d, 14a, 61a, 67b, 68, 70.

¹⁴ JIGRE 147; CIJ ii 943, 956.

¹⁵ CPJ iii, *Index*, p.192; although not all persons bearing the name are necessarily Jewish.

attested on an inscription from Venosa (521 CE).¹⁶ However, Σίμων was a very popular Greek name and it was certainly not used exclusively by Jews.¹⁷ The Jewish community in Smyrna was already well established in the 1st century CE as shown by the literary and epigraphic sources.¹⁸ It is possible that Simon was a Smyrnan Jew, but this cannot be ascertained. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis date the inscription to the 3rd century CE.

App6. Dedication of Julius (Thessaloniki)

Editions: Avezou & Picard 1913, 100, no. 8; IG x.2.1 1972, no. 72; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.693d; Tačeva-Hitova 1978, 62, 71, no. 4; Feissel & Sève 1988, 455, no. 6.

Illustrations: Feissel & Seve 1988, 453, fig. 4 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: Predrizet 1914, 91, n.2; Plassart 1914, 529, n.5; Nock 1936, 45; Habicht 1974, 491; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 67; Levinskaya 1996, 155.

Found in Thessaloniki. Now: Lost.

Details: Fragment of a plaque of white marble, broken in two pieces. Measures: 27 x 49 x 3-5 cm; Height of letters: 1.8-2.8 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: post 1st century CE?

Text (follows Feissel & Sève 1988 and Habicht 1974):

Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Ἰού(λιος) Ἐσ[---]

Ligatures: HN

1. IOYEC on the stone.

To the God most High by (his) orders Julius Es...

Recorded in 1912 by Avezou and Picard in the municipal Lyceum (high school) of Thessaloniki. A cross is inscribed on the back of the second piece, which suggest that it was re-used as a building material, probably, for a church. Avezou, Picard, Predrizet, Nock, Lifshitz (CIJ i²) and Edson (IG) interpreted the letters IOYEC as a genitive of the name the God of Israel. This is unlikely. The inscription is

¹⁶ JWE i 107.

¹⁷ Pape & Benseler 1911, 1393-4; LGPN ii, 398-399; LGPN iii, 396; LGPN iiib, 379; Mussies 1994, 244.

¹⁸ CIJ ii, 741-743; Lifshitz 1967, nos. 14-15; Trebilco 1991, 27-32, 35-36, 104-106, 173-175, 180-184, 227-228.

clearly a votive or dedication set by a person with the Roman *nomen* Julius after the command of *Theos Hypsistos*, and therefore not necessarily under Jewish influence. Edson (IG) dates the inscription broadly to the period after 1st century CE, without explaining his criteria, but the name Julius in this region is unlikely to be earlier.

App7. Epitaph (Athens)

Editions: Koumanoudes 1871, no.3589; Bayet 1878a, 169 no.68; Bayet 1878b, 124 no.124; IG iii.2 1895, no.3533; CIJ i 1936, no.714; Urdahl 1968, 42 no.12; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p.83 (note by M. Schwabe); Sironen 1997, 287–8 no.261.

Illustrations: Bayet 1878a, pl.III fig.8 (squeeze); Bayet 1878b, pl.V fig.8 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: Robert 1937, 81; Robert 1946, 101 n.4; Goodenough *Symbols* ii 1953, 61; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Derda 1997, 258.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv.no. EM 5800.

Details: Marble stele, only part of the left side preserved, 25.7 x 29 x 6.7 cm. Letters 2.1–4.1 cm.; space between lines up to 2.6 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–6th century CE(?).

Text (follows Sironen 1997):

[-----]
 [ἐνθα + name?]
 [.]ουσης θυ[γά]-
 τηρ κῆτε 'ε<ι> δ[έ τις]
 ἀλλότριος [τολμήσ-?] 5
 ἡ ἀνορύξει [- - -]
 [-----?].

1–2. Schwabe *ap.* CIJ i²: [ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ --]ουσης; Bayet, CIJ i: [Μω]ύσης

4. Sironen: κεῖται

4. ι omitted on the stone

6. Sironen: ἀνορύξει

.... here(?)... the daughter of usa lies. If a stranger dares to dig up (the grave?)

.....

Bayet, followed by Frey in CIJ, restored the name in l.2 as Μωύσης and suggested that the inscription is Jewish. However, Schwabe and Derda note that -ύσης is actually the genitive ending of the name of the deceased woman's mother. This makes Bayet's restoration superfluous and suggests there is no ground for

considering the inscription Jewish. The text in ll.3–6 is most probably the beginning of a curse against the violation of the grave. Sironen dates the inscription to the 5th or 6th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

App8. Epitaph of Samuel (Athens)

Editions: Pittakes 1835, 320 (majusc.); Koumanoudes 1871, no.*3601; Bayet 1877, 406 no.29; Bayet 1878b, 124-5 no.125; CIG iv 1877, no. 9315; IG iii.2 1882, no.3450; Sironen 1997, 172-3 no.102.

Illustrations: Bayet 1877, pl.XVI fig.6 (drawing); Bayet 1878b, pl.II fig.6 (drawing).

Other bibliography: Molouchou 1998, 40 no. 96.

Found at Athens. Now: Lost.

Details: Fragment of plaque of Pentelic marble, broken above and below, 19 x 13 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th–6th century CE(?).

Text (follows Sironen 1997):

[κοιμητ]-
 ήριο<v>
 Σαμοή[λ?]
 του υίοῦ
 Πυθα [---?]. 5

1. CIG iv: [κοιμητ]
2. HPIOC on the stone (Pittakes)
2. Koumanoudes, Bayet 1877, 1878b, IG iii.2: ήριον
3. CAMOH on the stone (Pittakes)
3. Koumanoudes: Σαμοή[λ?]
5. ΠΥΘΑ on the stone (Pittakes)
5. Koumanoudes, CIG iv, Bayet 1877, IG iii.2: Πυθα--

Resting place of Samuel, son of Pytha ...

Found near the Propylea of the Acropolis. Sironen considers the inscription Jewish because of the name Samuel. However, the name was also used by Christians and in view of the date proposed by Sironen the inscription is more likely to be Christian than Jewish. The name of the father could be read either as Πυθαῶς (preferred by Sironen) or as Πυθαγόρας, Πυθαῖος, Πυθαράτος, Πύθαρχος, which all are attested

in Athens.¹⁹ Sironen dates the inscription to the 5th-6th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

App9. Epitaph of Martha from Antioch (Athens)

Editions: Lolling 1890, 83 no. 17; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no. 8232; Urdahl 1968, 44, no. 3; BE 1969, no. 206; CIJ i² 1975, no. 715e; Roth-Gerson 2001, 130 no. XI (photo).

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 38 no. 912.

Found at Athens. Now: Epigraphic museum, inv. no. EM 1554.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Pentellic marble, 30 x 22 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: Imperial period?

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

Μάρθα
Διοκλήους
Ἀντιόχισσα.

Martha (daughter) of Diocles, from Antioch.

Kirchner, Lifshitz, Urdahl and Robert considered the inscription Jewish because of the name Martha. However, as Solin has shown Martha was not exclusively Jewish but a common Semitic name.²⁰ Thus, the Jewishness of the inscription cannot be ascertained. Kirchner dates the inscription to the 'imperial period' on palaeographic grounds.

App10. Epitaph of Martha from Miletus (Piraeus)

Editions: Pittakes 1858, 1695, no. 3245; Koumanoudes 1871, no. 2204; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no. 9756; Urdahl 1968, 45, no. 9; BE 1969, no. 206; CIJ i² 1975, no. 715g.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 215, no. 5082.

Found at Piraeus. Now: Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. EM 11993.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Pentelic marble, 75 x 29 cm.

Language: Greek.

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

Μάρθα
Νικίου
Μιλησία.

Martha (daughter) of Nicias, from Miletus.

¹⁹ LGPN ii 1994, 385.

²⁰ Solin 1983, 634-7.

Found out of context in Piraeus. It was, again, considered Jewish because of the name Martha. However, this cannot be ascertained. Cf. *App7*.

App11. Epitaph of Dionysia from Joppa (Athens)

Editions: Peek 1956, 26 no.70; Urdahl 1959, 72 no.7; Urdahl 1968, 46 no.12; SEG xxv 1971, no.275.

Illustrations: Peek 1956, p.26 (squeeze).

Other bibliography: BE 1969, no.206; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 111 no. 2617-8.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv.no.EM 543.

Details: Stele, chipped on both sides and broken below, 52 x 13 cm. Letters 2.4 cm (omicron in 1.3 1.6 cm.); space between lines 1.3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century CE(?).

Text (follows Peek 1956):

[Δ]ιονυσία
[Α]λεξάνδρου
Ἰοπίτις.

3. 1. Ἰοπίτις

Dionysia (daughter) of Alexander, from Joppa.

Urdahl suggests that the inscription is Jewish because of the place of origin, which he attributes to the deceased's father but most probably applies to Dionysia herself. According to Belayche, Joppa (Jaffa) had an equally balanced Jewish and non-Jewish population, which means that the Jewish provenance of the inscription can not be ascertained.²¹ The names are attested among Jews, but are of course very common in non-Jewish use. Urdahl dates the inscription to the 1st century CE on palaeographic grounds.

App12. Epitaph of a Joppa (Athens)

Editions: IG iii.2 1895, no.2498; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.8938; Urdahl 1959, 71-2 no.6; Urdahl 1968, 45 no.6.

Other bibliography: Robert 1946, 101 n.5; BE 1969, no.206; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 111 no. 2619.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv.no.EM 11277.

²¹ Belayche 2001, 280-1.

Details: *Kioniskos* of Hymettian marble, broken above, 13 cm. high. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 1st century CE(?).

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940):

[- - - -]
Ζηνο[δῶρου]
Ἰοπί[της].

2. could also be restored as Ζηνο[δότου]; Urdahl 1959: Ζηνο[φιλοῦ]

3. 1. Ἰοππίτης

..... (son/daughter) of Zenodorus (?), from Joppa.

Cf. App9. The name Zenodorus occurs in Jewish inscriptions from Cyrenaica²² and Rome (3rd–4th century).²³ Kirchner dates the inscription to the 1st century CE on palaeographic grounds.

App13. Epitaphs of Aelius and Hypeirochus (Athens) (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 2)

Editions: Koumanoudes 1871, no. *3225; IG iii.2 1882, no.2893; Conze ii 1900, 173, no. 809; IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940, no.10222.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 65; Osborne & Byrne 1996, 278, no. 6525.

Found at Athens. Now: Athens, Epigraphic museum, inv. no. EM 10405.

Details: Stele of whitish marble with *aetoma*, 90 x 30 cm. The space for the inscription is framed with two decorative columns (*antae*). Letters: 1.3 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 2nd century CE(?)

Text (follows IG ii/iii² 3.2 1940):

(a) Αἰλί-
ου Παμ-
μένου
θρεπτὸς.

(b) Ὑπεί-
ροχ[ος]
Αμ[.]-
ρεί-
[.]ης. 5
(bird)

(a)4. θρέπτου

(b) 3-5. IG iii.2 1882: [C]αμ[α]ρεί[τ]ης

(b) 3-5. 1. Αμ[α]ρεί[τ]ης?

²² CJZC 72.

²³ JIWE ii 490.

*Of Aelius, home-bred slave of Pammenus.
Hupeirchus of Amareia(?).*

Found among the ruins of a church at Ilissos. Originally, there was a relief of a siren with a head turned to the left in the aetoma of the stele. According to Conze the relief was deliberately chiselled out in the Roman period and inscription (a) inscribed in the *aetoma*. There also are traces of a standing human figure in the central part of the stele. The relief was probably also chiselled out in the Roman period. Inscription (b) was inscribed, also in the Roman period, on the left decorative column of the stele. There is a figure of a bird under inscription (b). Dittenberger (IG iii.2), followed by Osborne and Byrne, suggested ll. 3-5 of (b) should be read as the ethnic [C]αμ[α]ρεί[τ]ης. However, this is doubtful as Hypeirchos could also have been a native from the coastal city of Amarea in Lybia.

Kirchner dates the inscriptions to the 2nd century CE on palaeographic grounds.

App14. Inscription from Corinth

Editions: Pallas & Dantes 1977, 81 no.30; Horsley 1987a, 213-4 no. 113.

Other bibliography: BE 1980, no.230; SEG xxix 1979, no.300; Revised Schürer iii.1 1986, 66; Boffo 1994, 364 n.7; Levinskaya 1996, 166.

Found at Corinth. Now: Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv.no.2506.

Details: Fragment of a white marble plaque, 15 x 12 x 4 cm. Letters: 1.2 cm. Guidelines visible above and below ll.2-4.

Language: Greek. Date: Roman period.

Text (follows Pallas & Dantes 1977 and photo):

[- - - - -]
 διδάσ[καλος?]
 καὶ ἀρχ[ισυνάγωγ-?]
 ος τῆ[ς συναγωγ-?]
 [γῆς Κορίνθου?]

5

3-4. BE: καὶ ἀρχ[ισυνάγωγος]

4. BE: τῆ[ς συναγωγῆς]

..... *teacher(?) and archisynagogos(?) of the synagogue(?) of Corinth(?).*

This inscription was found in 1954 on Acrocorinth. Stroud (SEG) suggests that it is from the Roman period, but no more precise dating has been offered. The only word from the inscription that can be restored with any degree of certainty is διδάσκαλος in 1.2, and although that can be a Jewish title, it is also a standard Greek word for 'teacher'. The inscription is too fragmentary to support any further restorations on the assumption that it is Jewish.

App15. Votive graffito on lamp (Corinth)

Editions: Wiseman 1972, 28-30, no. 21; Jordan 1994, 223-28.

Illustrations: Wiseman 1972, fig. 10 (drawing); Jordan 1994, fig. 1.1 (drawing)

Other bibliography: Lampropoulou 1993, 665-7; Rothaus 2000, 128.

Found at Corinth. Now: Archaeological museum of Corinth, inv. no. L-69-103.

Details: Lamp made of reddish-yellow micaceous clay, 11.4 x 6.9 x 3.1 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 4th-6th century CE.

Text (follows Jordan 1994 and drawing):

(*cross*) "Ἀγγελοι οἱ κατοικοῦντ(ες) ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕδα-
σιν τούτοις.

1-2. Wiseman: "Ἀγγελοι οἱ κατο[ι]κοῦντ<ες> ἐπὶ το<ῖς> Ἰουδαί[οις] τούτοις.

Angels who dwell upon these waters.

This lamp was found in 1968/9, together with more than 4000 terracotta lamps, in the so-called 'Fountain of Lamps' at Corinth. This is a large underground bath complex located near the Gymnasium of Corinth. It was used as a repository for votive offerings from the late 4th century until the middle of the 6th century CE.²⁴ According to Wiseman the 'graffito is written on the wall of the lamp beginning near the handle on the left side and continuing all around the lamp, ending at the handle on the right side; it is in two lines on the second side'.²⁵ Following his reading of the graffito as: "Ἀγγελοι οἱ κατο[ι]κοῦντ<ες> ἐπὶ το<ῖς> Ἰουδαί | οἰς τούτοις. ('Angels who

²⁴ Rothaus 2000, 126-34.

²⁵ Wiseman 1972, 28.

dwell upon these Jews') Wiseman suggested that the text refers to Jews who were associated with the cult at the 'Fountain of Lamps'. However, his reading proved false after David Jordan re-examined and re-published the graffito in 1994, showing that the text is Christian. The lamp and the graffito have been dated to the 4th-6th century CE.

App16. Epitaph (Hermione, Peloponnese)

Editions: Jameson 1953, 156-7 no. 9; SEG xi 1954, no. 385b.

Illustrations: Jameson 1950, pl. 50 (photo).

Other bibliography: Lampropoulou 1993, 670-2.

Found at Hermione. Details: Fragment of a white marble plaque, broken from all sides, 13 x 11.5 x 3.5 cm. Letters: ll. 1-2, 1 cm; ll. 3-4, 1.3 cm. Guideline visible above l. 1.

Language: Greek. Date: Undated.

Text (follows Jameson 1950 and photo):

[.] ANIKΑΣΤΑΙ[--]
 -που Προκοπ[1---]
 συναγωγή [----]
 Πίστος φ[-----]
 vac.

3. l. συναγωγή

4. Jameson: πιστός φ[ν τῷ Θεῷ(?)]

...Procopius(?) ... synagogue ... Pistos (?)...

Jameson recorded the inscription in the garden of the Papabasileios family in the Kampos area, at the right-hand side of the road to Kranidi, just outside Hermione. The garden is close to the modern cemetery of Hermione and above a part of the ancient necropolis.²⁶ Jameson considered the inscription Jewish because of the occurrence of the term συναγωγή. This, however, is not sufficient evidence as a non-Jewish use of συναγωγή is attested on inscriptions from the Peloponnese.²⁷ Jameson suggests the name in l.2 should be read as Προκόπιος. ΠΙΣΤΟΣ is

²⁶ Jameson 1953, 154-5.

²⁷ IG v.1 1913, no. 1390 (Andania); SEG xi 1954, no. 974 (Messenia).

probably the personal name Πίστος, which is fairly well attested in the Peloponnese²⁸, than the adjective πιστός proposed by Jameson. Jameson dates the inscription broadly to the 'Christian era' on paleographic grounds.

App17. Graffito from lamp (Delos)

Editions: Bruneau 1965, 119–120, 135 no. 4660; CIJ i² 1975, Prol. no.731a.

Illustrations: Bruneau 1965, pl. 32.

Other bibliography: Bruneau 1970, 485.

Found at Delos. Now: Delos, Archaeological museum, inv.no. B 4847.

Details: Lamp with round form made of reddish clay, 8.8 x 8.8 cm.

Language: Greek. Date: 3rd-4th century CE.

Text (follows Bruneau 1965 and photo):

Πρεΐμου

Of Primus.

The lamp was found in GD 80 ('synagogue') on Delos, but its exact find-spot is not known. This was the reason that prompted Lifshitz to include it into CIJ i² 1975. His decision, however, does not seem right. The inscription is inscribed on the bottom of the lamp and is a signature of an atelier. The atelier, founded in Corinth, was active between 3rd and 4th century CE. It also had a shop in Athens. Lamps with its signature are found in Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Olympia, Corfu and Crete.²⁹ Bruneau dates the inscription to 3rd-4th century CE.

App18. Epitaph of Satyrus and Moses(?) (Gortyn, Crete)

Editions: Gerola 1932, 560 no.50; I.Cret. iv 1950, 414, no.509; Bandy 1970, 140-1, App. no. 1; SEG xxxiii 1983, no.732; Nystrom 1983, 122; Spyridakis 1988, 173, no. A; SEG xxxviii 1988, no.911.

Illustrations: Bandy 1970, 140 (drawing)

Other bibliography: CIJ i² 1975, Prol. p.89; BE 1971, no.70; BE 1984, no.335; - van der Horst 1988, 195–7; Nystrom 1996, 98-100; Derda 1997, 258; Williams 1997, 274; SEG xlviii 1998, no. 1211.

Found at Hagioi Deki. Now: Lost.

²⁸ LGPN iii.A 1997, 362.

²⁹ Perlzweig 1961, 48-50.

Details: Fragment of a plaque broken on the left and right and below. Now: Lost.
No measures given.

Language: Greek. Date: 5th century CE(?)

Text (follows SEG xxxviii 1988):

[κ]ῦρι Σατύρω Θεο[δοῦ-]
[λο]ν ἱερεῦ Μωσῇ ἄρχων[τι]
[ζητ]ήσας ἐν πόνοις [- - -]
[πολλ]οῖς? σωτηρίαν [- -]
[- - - - - - - - - - -]

1. --ἱουρισατυρωθε.-- on the stone (I.Cret.)
1. Spyridakis: κῦρι=κύριος
- 1-2. Spyridakis: Θεο[δώρο]ν or Θεο[δοῦλο]ν
2. ἄρχων+-- on the stone (I.Cret.)
2. Spyridakis: ἱερεῦ=ἱερεῖ
3. Bandy: [ζητ]ήσας<ι>
3. Gerola, I. Cret. & CIJ i²: [Ζ]ήζας ἐν πόνοις
3. Spyridakis: [ἐξ]ήτ]ήσας also possible
4. CIJ i²: [εὔ]ροις σωτηρίαν

To Lord Satyrus (son) of Theodulus(?), the priest, (and) Moses, the archon, who sought in toils ... many ... salvation

Found built into a house in the village of Hagioi Dekα ('Ἅγιοι Δέκα) near ancient Gortyn. The inscription is severely damaged and the reconstruction presented above is very questionable. Bandy, followed by Spyridakis, considers the inscription Jewish mainly because, he notes, the phraseology employed in it is not recorded in the Christian epitaphs of Crete. This argument is weak. Guarducci, Lifshitz, Nystrom, Derda and Williams all support the view that the inscription is Christian exactly because of its terminology and phraseology. It should be noted that nothing like the phrase ζητήσας ἐν πόνοις πολλοῖς σωτηρίαν is attested in Jewish inscriptions so far. The term σωτηρία with meaning of 'salvation' (LSJ s.v.) was almost exclusively used by Christians and does not appear in Jewish epitaphs.³⁰ The name Theodoulus in ll. 1-2 is heavily restored and could equally well be read as Theodorus (Θεόδωρος), according to Bandy and Spyridakis, or

³⁰ The term appears 45 times in the NT. NT also applies the term σωτήρ (saviour) only to God (8 times; Luke 1.47, etc) and Jesus (16 times; Luke 2.11, John 4.42; Acts 13.23, etc).

Theodotus (Θεόδοτος). If the restoration Theodoulus ('slave of God') is accepted it would further undermine the possible Jewish character of the inscription as the name was a common Christian name but extremely rare among Jews; however, the feminine form Theodula occurs in *Ach*5.

Bandy takes the name Moses as an additional indicator that the inscription is Jewish.³¹ Spyridakis, a proponent of Bandy's views, observes that 'although the taking of Biblical names by Christian priests and bishops was and is a common practice, the rendition of the Hebrew name Moses by the formal ecclesiastical Greek Μωϋσῆς (not Μωσῆς) should be expected in the case of its adoption by a Christian priest in this inscription'.³² However, Derda notes that such a differentiation between the two spellings of the name is artificial and is not supported by the papyrological evidence.³³

The term ἱερεύς (priest) does appear on Jewish inscriptions and papyri, but as Horbury & Noy observe it would indicate a hereditary status as, for example, in Egypt and Rome.³⁴ However, the title was also a common designation of presbyters, and in some cases of bishops, in Christian literature.³⁵ On the title ἄρχων cf. *Ach*32.

It is not clear whether the inscription is an epitaph or not. The general sense of the text suggests the inscription could be honorific – honouring Satyrus and Moses for their benefactions or good deeds.

Guarducci and Bandy date the inscription to the 5th century CE on palaeographic grounds. In view of this date and the phraseology employed it is much more likely that this inscription is Christian than Jewish.

³¹ Bandy 1970, 140.

³² Spyridakis 1988, 173.

³³ Derda 1997, 258.

³⁴ JIGRE 84 (Leontopolis); 149 (Jaffa); JIWE ii, 11; 80; 109; 124-5; 558.

³⁵ Sophocles 1914, 593-4; LPGL, 670.

App19. Epitaph of Hermes (Elyros (Rhodovani), Crete)

Editions: Thenon 1866, 401; Schulze, 1933, 291; I.Cret. ii 1939, 179 no. (xiii) 8; CIJ i² 1975, no.731b; Spyridakis 1989, 231–2.

Other bibliography: Revised Schürer iii.1, 1986, 71; van der Horst 1988, 196–7.

Found at Rhodovani. Now: Lost.

Details: Marble stele. No measures given.

Language: Greek. Date: Imperial period(?)

Text (follows CIJ i² 1975):

Σανβάθι<ς>
Ἑρμῇ μνά-
μας χάζιν.

1. CANBAΘIE on the stone (I.Cret.)

1. Spyridakis: fem. Σανβαθί<ς>?

2-3. μνάμας= μνείας

3. χάζιν=χάριν

Sanbathis for Hermes, for the sake of (his) memory.

Found reused in the church of the Holy Cross at the village of Rhodovani near the site of ancient Elyros. Guarducci, followed by Lifshitz, considers the inscription Jewish because of the name Sanbathis. However, van der Horst and Spyridakis both note that the name by itself is not a sufficient indicator for the Jewishness. The name Sanbathis is one of the ‘Sabbath’ names like Σαββαθαί or Σαββαθαῖος and Σαμβαταῖος or Σαμβατίων. These names, derived ultimately from the Hebrew word ‘Sabbath’, were very popular among Egyptian Jews as early as the Hellenistic period and also adopted by some non-Jews.³⁶ According to Mussies the popularity of ‘Sabbath’ names among Egyptians was also due to the fact that they had a distinctive meaning in Egyptian.³⁷ They occur, in different variations, in Jewish inscriptions from Venosa, Taranto, and Sofiana³⁸ and, quite frequently, at

³⁶ CPJ i, pp.94–6; CPJ iii, pp.44–6; JIGRE 40, 48, 58–60, 65, 76, 86, 90, 93, 95–96 98, 106, 108; Mussies 1994, 270–2.

³⁷ Mussies 1994, 272.

³⁸ JIWE i 68, 85, 126, 158.

Rome.³⁹ Sanbatis/Sambatis was also a popular choice for Christians and occurs in Christian epitaphs from Athens.⁴⁰ The name also appears in a fragmentary inscription, probably from Oescus, where it is unclear whether it is used in Jewish or Christian context.⁴¹ A 'Sabbath' name is attested in only other Cretan inscription: the name Σαβατίων occurs in a Christian epitaph from Pege, district of Rethymon.⁴²

Guarducci dates the inscription to the 'Imperial period' on palaeographic grounds.

App20. Magical text

CIJ i 1936, 717, a magical text of unknown origin, includes among much else a list of Jewish angelic names (Ariel, Michael, Raphael, etc.) and Σαβαώθ, but is clearly not a Jewish text, just a reflection of the way magical names and formulae were borrowed from all religions.

App21. Magical text (Aegina)

CIJ i 1936, 724, is a magical text on a sheet of lead, with some angelic names (Michael, Gabriel, Ouriel, etc.) and probably, but it is unlikely to be of particularly Jewish origin.

App22. Engraved roebuck's horn (Pliska) (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 3)

A roebuck's horn found during the 1948 excavations of the old Bulgarian capital Pliska is engraved with a number of Proto-Bulgarian symbols, two stars, Greek or Latin letters and figures of a horse and a stag(?).⁴³ Between the animal figures there





³⁹ JIWE ii 7, 19, 22, 47, 110, 157, 193, 220, 244, 257, 269, 339, 356.

⁴⁰ Creaghan & Raubitschek 1947, 37 no. XXIII; 42, no. 13.

⁴¹ ILBulg 1989, no. 119.

⁴² I.Cret. ii, no. 12; Bandy 1970, no. 74.

⁴³ Mihaylov 1955, 66.

are crossed lines which look like letters, but the script has, so far, not been deciphered. The horn is approximately 8.9 cm long and was found, together with other animal bones, under a thick layer of ashes in the stratum which corresponds to the burning of the city by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I (802-811) in 811 CE. The horn has two symmetrical holes at his base suggesting that it was attached to a necklace or belt. Gičev suggests that the crossed lines are actually a Hebrew inscription commemorating the building of the Pool of Siloam and the tunnel under Hezekiah.⁴⁴ According to him the text of the inscription reads 'Hewed for the foundations of Shilo[ah] in the time of He(zekiah I wrote) o(n) the h(orn) of the roebuck 323'.⁴⁵ He also thinks that the symbols  and  found on the horn are Egyptian hieroglyphs signifying the celestial zenith.⁴⁶ He dates the inscription to 724 BCE. These suggestions are highly unlikely. The symbols  and  are also found on other proto-Bulgarian artefacts and are *tamgas* (clan symbols) or Turkic runic letters.⁴⁷ There are also Greek or Latin letters engraved on the horn (possibly *NED*). The object was not much older than the other artefacts from the 9th-century CE stratum of the site.⁴⁸ The horn may have been a magical object or a hunting trophy.

⁴⁴ Gičev 1964, 101-6. Cf. 2Chr 32.4; 2Kgs 20.20, etc.

⁴⁵ Gičev 1964, 104. No Hebrew text supplied.

⁴⁶ Gičev 1964, 104-5.

⁴⁷ Vaklinov 1970, 151-5.

⁴⁸ Mihaylov 1955.

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Σωδαμίδας	Ach42
Σωκράτης	Ach32
Σώστρατος	Ach44
Ταραντῖνος	Ach42, Ach44
Τείσων	Ach42
Τερτία	Mac9
Τιβέριος	Mac1
Τιμοκλῆς	Ach44
Τιτιανός	Ach1
Φιλίππας	Ach8
Φίλων	Ach32, Ach35
Φιλοκράτης	Ach44
Φ(λάβιο)ς?	Mac14
Φρυνίδας	Ach45
Χαρῖνος	Ach45

b. Names written in the Latin alphabet

Arsa	Dal1
------	------

Iose	Dal1
Ioses	Moes1
Secundus(?)	Pan1
b. Notable features of names	
<i>Double name</i>	
ὁ καί	Mac1, Mac17
ὁ κέ	Thr1, Thr2?
ὦ καί	Mac16
τῇ καί	Mac17
<i>Name introduced by</i>	
ὦι ὄνομα	Ach42, Ach44
αἷς ὀνόματα	Ach43
<i>Roman citizen name (duo/tria nomina)</i>	
Dal2, Thr5?, Mac1, Mac14, Mac17, Ach51, Ach53-54	
3. Personal details	
a. Joint epitaphs/dedications	
Husband and wife	Mac18, Ach4, Ach6?, Ach16-17
Man and woman	Ach20-1, Ach22?, Ach24, Ach30?
Brothers/cousins	Ach34
Two men	Ach65
b. Commemorator identified	
Father for son	Cre1
Brother for sister	Dal1
Husband for wife	Mac15, Cre2
Self	Moes1, Mac14, Mac17, Ach51
Not specified	Ach2
c. Age of death	
1 year	Cre1
3 years	Mac10?
10 years	Ach9?
27 years	Dal4
50 years	Dal2
d. Occupations and secular titles	
Epimeletes	Ach41
Grammateus	Ach41
Ius liberorum	Dal2
Military title (principales?)	Moes1
Proscholus	Ach27
Scholasticus	Ach5

4. Place names and ethnics

Achaea	Ach75
Alexandria	Mac8
Antioch	Ach31, Ach35
Arad	Ach32
Athens	Ach45
Athenians on Delos	Ach69
Caesarea	Ach34
Delphi	Ach43
Gortyn	Cre3
Herakleion	Ach66
Kissamus	Cre3
Knossos	Ach67
Naxos	Ach72
Oropus	Ach45
Pannonia	Moes1
Paros	Ach60
Pito...	Dal4
Roman	Dal3
Sidon	Ach32
Stobi	Mac1
Tiberias	Dal2, Ach55

5. Religion

a. Terms indicating 'Jew' & 'Samaritan' and Jewish institutions

Jew

τῆς Ἰουδαίας	Ach6
[?]Ἰουδαῖος	Ach73
Ἰουδαίους	Dal2
Ἰουδαῖος	Ach40
τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον	Ach42
τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίαν	Ach43

Hebrew

Ἑβραίου	Mac10
Ἑβρ[αίων]	Ach47
Ἑβραίων	Mac11

Samaritan

Σαμαρεῖτισσα	Dal4
Σαμαρεῖτις	Ach35
Σαμαρεῖτης	Ach41
Σαμαρίτις	Ach36
Σαμαρ[εῖ-]	Ach37
Σαμαρεὺς	Ach68
[?οἱ ἐν Δῆλῳ] Ἰσραελεῖται	Ach66
οἱ ἐν Δῆλῳ Ἰσραελεῖται	Ach67

- Jerusalem
Ἱεροσολυμίτις Ach26
- Garizim*
οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἅγιον Ἀργαρζεῖν Ach66
οἱ ἀπαρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀργαρζεῖν Ach67
- Neapolis*
Νεάπολις Mac19
- Judaism*
πολιτευσάμενος πᾶσαν πολιτεί-
αν κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν Mac1
- Day of Atonement?*
ὃ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ
ταπεινοῦνται μεθ' ἱκετείας Ach70-71
- Christian*
Crissi(ani) Dal3
- b. Jewish titles
- Archegissa(?)* Ach18
Archisynagogos Moes1?, Ach58, Cre3
Archon Ach56
Ethnarch Ach51
Pater Mac1, Mac5?, Mac6?,
Ach54
Patriarch Mac1, Ach51
Phrontistes Ach58, Ach59
Presbyter/a Mac20, Thr3, Cre3,
Mac10
(μελοπρεσβύτερος)
Prostates Ach5
- c. Synagogues and parts of synagogues
- Synagogue (community)*
τῇ συναγωγῇ Mac14, Ach54
ταῖς συναγωγαῖς Mac17
τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ συναγωγ(ῇ) Mac9
τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ συναγωγῇ Ach23
- Synagogue (building)*
[Συνα]γωγὴ Ἑβρ[αίων] Ach47
τὴν σ[υναγωγ(ῇ)ν] Ach58
[pro]seucham Pan1
τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ Mac1

Decoration

ἐκόσμησεν Thr1
τὴν κοσμ[ήσιν] Thr2

Dining-room

τὸ τρίκλεινον Mac1

Pronaos

τό<υ> πρόναου Ach54

Roof

τὴν δὲ ἐπισκευὴν τῆς κεράμου Mac1

Rooms

τῶν οἰκείων Mac1

Tetrastoon

τῷ τετραστόῳ Mac1

Upper rooms

τῶν ὑπερώων Mac1

d. Prayers, blessings, thanksgivings & invocations

Blessings

εὐλογία Mac19
εὐλογία πᾶσιν Thr1, Thr4?
εὐλογία πᾶσιν το[ῖς] εἰς[ε]ρ[χ]ο[μέν]οις Ach59

Farewell to the people

τῷ λαῷ χαίρειν Ach1-4, Ach10, Ach13-14, Ach16
λαῷ χαίρειν Ach4, Ach8, Ach11-12
λαῶι χαίρειν Ach25
[χ]αίρειν Ach9, Ach16?

Mercy to the people

ἔλεως τῷ λαῷ Ach57

Honouring of an individual

ἐτίμησαν ... αὐτοῦ Ach66
[ἐστεφάνωσαν] χρυσῷ στε[φά]νω Ach66
στεφανοῦσιν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Ach67

Dedication to God

Θεός Ἅγιος Mac7
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Ach60, Ach63
Θεῶι Ὑψίστῳ Ach62
Ὑψίστῳ Ach61
εὐλογητῷ Thr5

Invocation of God

ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἄξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν
 Ὑψιστον
 Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη
 ἐπὶ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ ζῶν[τος]

Ach70-71

Ach72

Ach73

One God

εἷς Θεός

Mac19

God's peace

ἐν [εἰρήνῃ θε]οῦ

Dal4

God's power

τὰς θείας καὶ μαγάλ[ας]
 δύναμεις τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 τὸν Κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων
 καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς

Ach51

Ach70-71

God with us

Κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν

Mac15

God watching

ἐνορῶ[ντος] Θεοῦ
 Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν

Ach16

Ach70-71

Blessing on God

ברוך אלהינו לעולם
 ברוך שמו לעולם

Mac19

Mac19

Worship of God

τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λατρίας τῆς γιγνομένης
 ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τῷ Θεῷ

Ach51

Law

τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ[ς] δύναμεις
 τοῦ Νόμου

Ach51

Angels

οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ

Ach70-71

Amen

ἀμήν

Cre3

e. Biblical quotations

Ex 15.3

Ach50

Ex 15.26

Ach50

Ex 21.14

Ach70

Ex 38.8

Ach50

Num 6.22-27	Mac19
Num 14.14	Ach50
Num 16.22	Ach70
Num 27.16	Ach70
Dt 19.10	Ach70
Dt 27.24	Ach70
Ps 45.8, 45.12	Mac15
Prov 10.7?	Cre3
Job 34.23	Ach70
Zech 4.10	Ach16
f. Symbols	
<i>ascia</i>	Dal2
<i>ethrog</i>	Thr1-4, Mac4, Mac8, Mac12, Ach27, Ach29?
<i>hedera</i>	Moes1, thr1, Ach6, Ach49, Cre1 Ach72?
<i>jug</i>	Moes1, Thr1-2, Thr4, Mac2, Mac8, Mac12, Mac20, Ach16-17, Ach30, Ach72
<i>lulab/palm</i>	Moes2, Thr1-4, Mac2, Mac8-9, Mac12-13, Mac15, Ach5, Ach16-22, Ach24, Ach27-30, Ach46, Ach52, Ach72-73
<i>menorah</i>	Thr1-2
<i>myrtle</i>	Ach70
<i>pair of hands</i>	Ach17
<i>peacock</i>	Ach28, Ach64
<i>rosette</i>	Thr4, Mac8, Ach27, Ach29-30
<i>shofar</i>	Thr4, Ach16
<i>shovel</i>	Thr1-2
<i>willow</i>	Ach66-67
<i>wreath/garland</i>	

6. Rulers

Roman emperors

[L(ucii) Sept(imii) Severi Pe]rtinacis	Pan1
[et M(arci) Aur(elii) Antonini] Aug(ustorum)	Pan1
[[P(ublii) Sep(timii) Getae nob(ilissimis)	Pan1
Cae(saris)]]	Pan1
[Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris cast]rorum	Pan1

Jewish rulers

βασιλέα Ἡρώδην φιλορωμαῖον	Ach38
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- [βασι]λέα Ἡρώδην εὐσεβῆ καὶ
 φιλοκαίσαρα Ach39
 Βασιλ[εὺς Ἡ]ρώδ[ης] Ach74
 Ἡρώδην βασιλέω[ς Ἡ]ρ[ώ]δου υἱόν[
 τετράρχην Ach69
- 7. Funerary formulae**
- a. Life and death of the deceased
- ἀν(νορουν) Dal2
 τρι[έ]του Mac10
 ἐτῶν Cre1
 [έτ]ῶν δέκα Ach9
 ζήσασα καλῶς [έτη εἴκο]σι καὶ ἐπτά Dal4
- b. Terms for tomb
- κοιμητήριον Ach28
 κυμητήριον Ach21
 κυμητήριον Ach29-30
 memoria Dal1
 memoria[m] Moes1
 μημόριον Mac12?, Mac18
 μημώριον Mac13
 μημούρηων Mac8
 μνήμα Thr3, Ach16-18, Ach20,
 Ach22?, Ach51
- μνημίων Ach24
 τάφος Mac9-10
 τάφον Mac9
 τάφοι Ach23
 ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τούτῳ Ach23
 χαμωσόρον Mac14
 כבשם Ach49
- c. Curses and fines against violation of the tomb
- Adjuration*
- ἐνεύχομαι πρὸς τῷ μηδένα
 ἀνασκευάσε τὸ ἐμὸν μνήμα Ach51
- Fine*
- (ἐάν) τις ἀνύξῃ τὸν τάφον
 δώση τῇ ἀγιωτά[τῃ] συναγωγ(ῇ)
 ἀρ(γύρου) λί(τραν) α Mac9
- ὅς ἂν δὲ ἐτέρων νέκυν κατάθε-
 σε(ι) δώσι προστείμου τῇ συ-
 ναγωγῇ * (δηνάρια) μ(υριάδας) ρ' Mac14
- εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον καταθῇ δώσει ταῖς
 συναγωγαῖς λα<μπ>ράς * (δηνάρια)

- μ(υριάδας) ζ' χ(ιλιάδας) ε' Mac17
- ἐὰ<ν> δέ τεις τούτου τὸν τάφον ἀ-
νορύξη, δώσι τῇ ἁγιοτάτῃ συν-
αγωγῇ δυναρίων μυριάδες δέκα Ach23
- Curse on violators*
si qu[is dea]sciare voluerit habe[at ir]ata
numina Dal3
quot sibi fi[e]ri non v[oluit] facere non
debet Dal3
- Curse on murderers*
ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον
ζητήσεις, καὶ τὴν ταχίστην Ach70
ἵνα ἐκδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον
καὶ τὴν ταχίστην Ach71
- d. The deceased in the tomb
D(is) M(anibus) Dal1
[suo]s Manis colente[s] Dal3
κεῖτε Ach23
ἐνθάδε κῆτε Dal4, Mac11, Ach75
τῆς κεκυμημένης Thr3
ἐνθε κατάκτε Thr4
ἐνθα Cre3
- e. Wishes for the deceased
χαῖρε Ach9?, Ach31?
<μ>νείας χάριν Cre1, Cre2?
μνίας χάριν Mac17
μνήμη δικέας ἰς ἔθνα Cre3
ἐν ἱρήνῃ - -] Ach75
ἐν [εἰρήνῃ θε]οῦ Dal4
- f. Addressed to the reader
[χαί]ροις ἀνθρώπων πεπ[νυμέν]ε
ὅστις ὑπάρχει Ach1
- 8. Votive formulae**
- εὐχὴν Thr5, Mac5-7, Ach60-62
εὐχῆς ἕνεκεν Mac1
ἐπὶ προσευχῇ Ach65
ἐπὶ προσευχῇ τοῦ θε[οῦ] Ach66
χαριστήριον Ach63
ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ Ach63
[pro salute in]p(eratorum) Pan1

9. Manumissions

Ach42-45
(Ach44-45 *paramonē*)

10. Names from Appendix 1

ΠΤΠΨ	App1
Δανιήλ	App2
ΠΝΠ	App3

11. Names from Appendix 2

Αιλίου	App13
Αλεξάνδρου	App11
Διοκλήους	App9
[Δ]ιονυσία	App11
Ἑρμῆ	App19
Ζηνο[δώρας]?	App12
Θεο[δούλο]ς	App18
Ἰού(λιος)	App6
Μάρθα	App9-10
Μωσῆ	App18
Νικίου	App10
Παμμένου	App13
Πίστος	App16
Πρεϊμου	App17
Προκοπ[ι---]	App16
Πυθαῖς?	App8
Σαμοῦ[λ?]	App8
Σανβάθι<ς>	App19
Σατύρως	App18
[Σ]έππωνος	App4
Σίμων	App5
Ὑπείροχ[ος]	App13

12. Archaeological evidence (Pl. II)**a. Synagogues**

Philippopolis	pp. 28-30 (Pl. V)
Stobi	pp. 50-56 (Pl. V)
Saranda	pp. 108-9
Aegina	pp. 210-2 (Pl. VI)
Delos	pp. 218-27 (Pl. VI)

b. Burials

Doclea	pp. 6-7 (Pl. XXIX, figs 1-3).
Thessaloniki	pp. 94-5 (Mac15; Pl. XVI, figs 2-3)

- c. Lamps
Salonae pp. 10-11 (Pl. XXVII, fig.4)
Mogorjelo p. 6 (Pl. XXVII, fig.3)
Delos pp. 223-7
(Pl. XXVII, fig.2)
- d. Seal
Stobi pp. 67-8 (Mac2; Pl. XIV, fig. 1)
- e. Graffiti
Salonae p. 11 (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 3)
- f. Stone revetment
Athens pp. 149-50 (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 4)
- g. Column capital
Corinth p. 186 (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 5)
- h. Sarcophagae
Salonae p. 11 (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 2)
Thessaloniki pp. 96-7 (Mac17)
- i. Glass medallion
Salonae p. 10 (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 1)
- 13. Literary sources (Pl. III)**
- a. Moesia
Dorticum? CTh 16.8.12, CTh 16.8.21
Procopius of Caesarea,
de Aed. 4.6.21
- b. Thrace
Constantinople
Jews Πάτρια Κωνσταντι-
νουπόλεως III, 32;
Theophanes, *Chronogra-
phia*, AM 5942; Georgius
Monachus, *Chronicon*
498.13; Nicephorus
Callistus, *HE* 14.49;
Georgius Cedrenus, *Hist.
Comp.* I, 602; Michael
Glycas, *Annales* 4;
Zonaras, *Epit. Hist.* 13,
18; Joel, *Chronographia*,
40; Gregory of Tours, *De
gloria martyrum* 9;

- Samaritans*
- Evagrius, *HE* 4.36;
Combefis, F.(ed),
*Historia haeresis
Monothelitarum
sanctaeque in eam sextae
synodi actorum vindiciae,
diversorum item antiqua
ac medii aevi, tum
historiae sacrae, tum
doctrinica, Graeca
opuscula*, Paris 1648,
cols. 612-648 (Legend of
the miraculous icon of
Christ the Guarantor
(Ἀντιφωνητής))
Abu'l Fath, *Kitab al-
Tarikh* (Crown 1989, 210,
n. 88); Procopius of
Caesarea, *Anecdota* 27, 6-
7
- Perinthus-Heraclea*
- Passio* of St Philip,
bishop of Heraclea (De'
Cavalieri 1953, 65, 130,
144, l. 7)
- c. Macedonia
- Philo, *Legat.* 281;
Scholion in Acharnenses,
156?
- Beroea
Philippi
Thessaloniki
- Acts 17.10-15
Acts 16.12-39
Acts Acts 17.1-9
- d. Achaea
- Thessaly
Attica
Boeotia
Aetolia
Peloponnese
Athens
- Philo, *Legat.* 281
Philo, *Legat.* 281
Philo, *Legat.* 281
Philo, *Legat.* 281
Philo, *Legat.* 281
Philo, *Legat.* 281;
Josephus, *AJ* 14. 149-
155; Acts 17.15-34
- Corinth
- Philo, *Legat.* 281;
Josephus, *BJ* 3.540; Acts
18.1-18
- Sparta?
- 1Macc 12.6-18, 12.20-23,
14.20-3
- Methone
- Jerome, *Vita S. Hilarionis
eremitaе*, 48B-C
- Argos
- Philo, *Legat.* 281

Euboea
Delos

Philo, *Legat.* 281
1Macc. 15.23; Josephus,
AJ 14.213-16; 231-2

e. Crete

1Macc 15.17-23; Tacitus,
Hist. 5, 2.1; Josephus, *BJ*
2, 101-3; *Vita* 427; Philo,
Legat. 282; Acts 2.10;
Socrates Scholasticus,
Hist. Eccl. vii.38.

Concordance of this corpus with *CIJ*

<i>No. in this vol.</i>	<i>CIJ no.</i>
Pan1	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.678a
Dal2	CIJ i 1936, no.680
Dal3	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.680a
Moes1	CIJ i 1936, no.681
Thr3	CIJ i 1936, no.692
Thr4	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.692a
Thr5	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.681a
Mac1	CIJ i 1936, no.694
Mac8	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.694a
Mac9	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.694b
Mac15	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.693b
Mac16	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.693c
Mac18	CIJ i 1936, no.693
Mac19	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.693a
Ach1	CIJ i 1936, nos.699-701
Ach2	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.708b
Ach3	CIJ i 1936, nos.703-5
Ach6	CIJ i 1936, no.697
Ach7	CIJ i 1936, no.698
Ach8	CIJ i 1936, no.702
Ach9	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.708a
Ach10	CIJ i 1936, no.706
Ach12	CIJ i 1936, no.707
Ach13	CIJ i 1936, no.708
Ach16	CIJ i 1936, no.696; CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.696
Ach17	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.696a
Ach18	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.696b
Ach19	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.696c
Ach23	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.708c
Ach24	CIJ i 1936, no.695
Ach25	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.708d
Ach26	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715a
Ach27	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715b
Ach28	CIJ i 1936, no.712
Ach29	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715h

Ach30	CIJ i 1936, no. 713
Ach31	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715d
Ach32	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715f
Ach33	CIJ i ² 1975, no.715c
Ach34	CIJ i 1936, no.715
Ach40	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715i
Ach42	CIJ i 1936, no.710.
Ach43	CIJ i 1936, no.709
Ach44	CIJ i 1936, 711
Ach45	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.711b
Ach46	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.711a
Ach47	CIJ i 1936, no.718
Ach48	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.718a
Ach51	CIJ i 1936, no.719
Ach52	CIJ i 1936, no.721
Ach53	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.721c
Ach54	CIJ i 1936, no.720
Ach55	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.721a.
Ach56	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.721b
Ach58	CIJ i 1936, no.722
Ach59	CIJ i 1936, no.723
Ach60	CIJ i 1936, no.727
Ach61	CIJ i 1936, no.730
Ach62	CIJ i 1936, no.728
Ach63	CIJ i 1936, no.729
Ach64	CIJ i 1936, no.731
Ach65	CIJ i 1936, no.726
Ach70	CIJ i 1936, no.725a
Ach71	CIJ i 1936, no.725b
Cre1	CIJ i ² 1975, no.731d
Cre3	CIJ i ² 1975, no.731c
App2	CIJ i 1936, no. 716
App4	CIJ i ² 1975, no.681b
App6	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.693d
App7	CIJ i 1936, no.714
App9	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.715e
App10	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no. 715g
App17	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.731a
App18	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no. p.89
App19	CIJ i ² 1975, Prol. no.731b
App20	CIJ i 1936, no. 717
App21	CIJ i 1936, no. 724

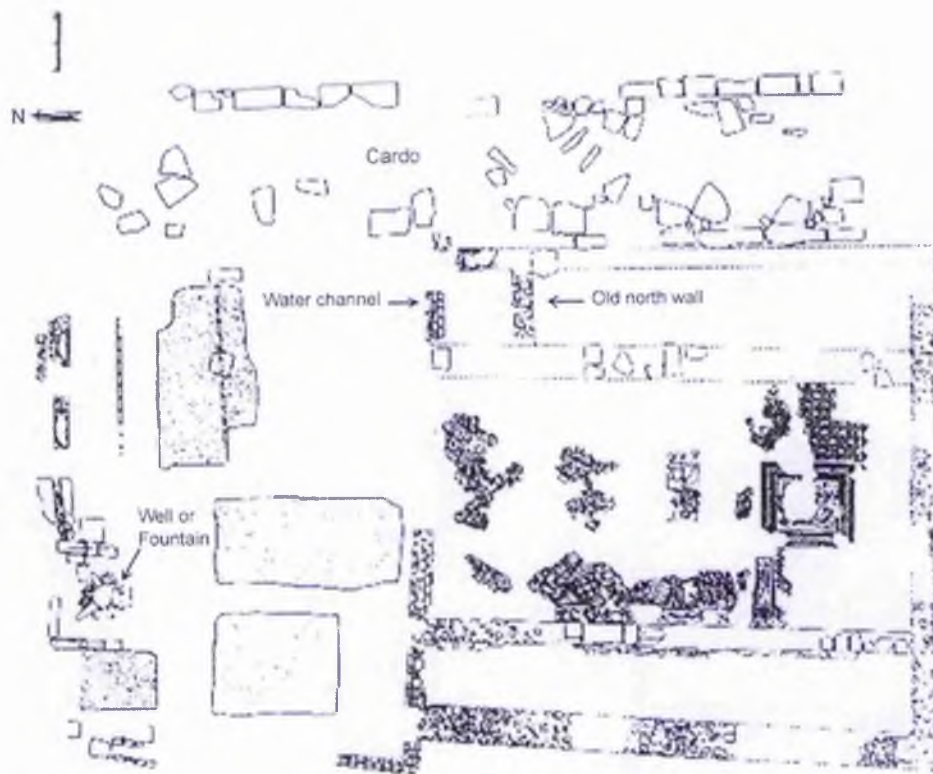




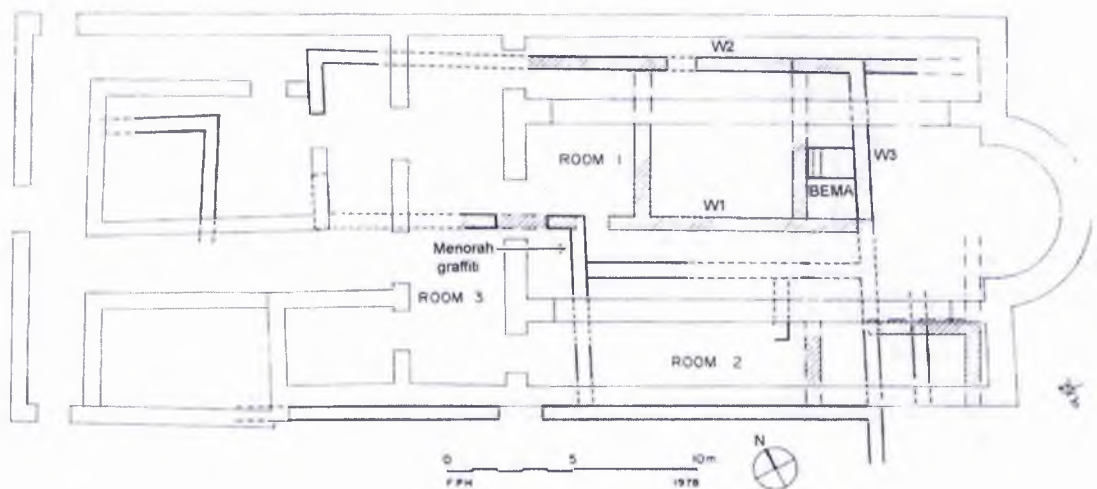


Jewish presence in the Balkan
provinces of the Roman empire
according to the literary evidence

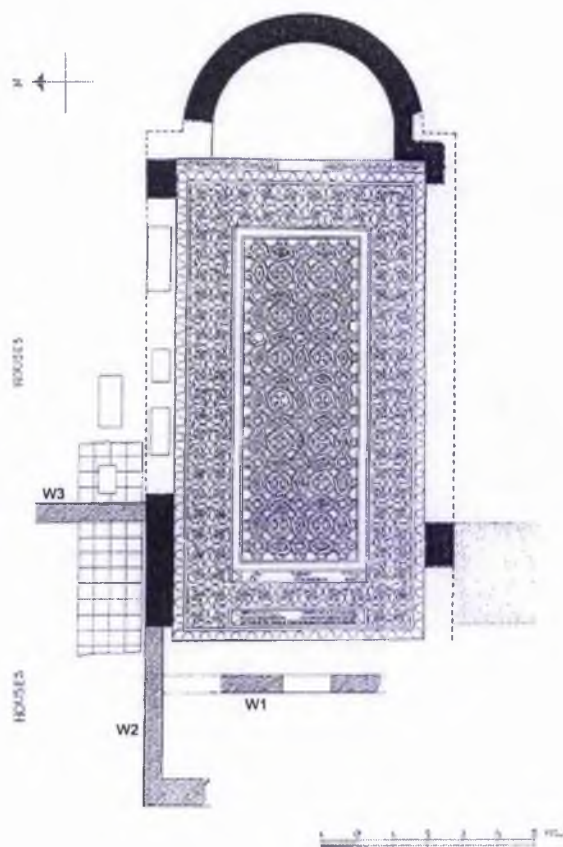




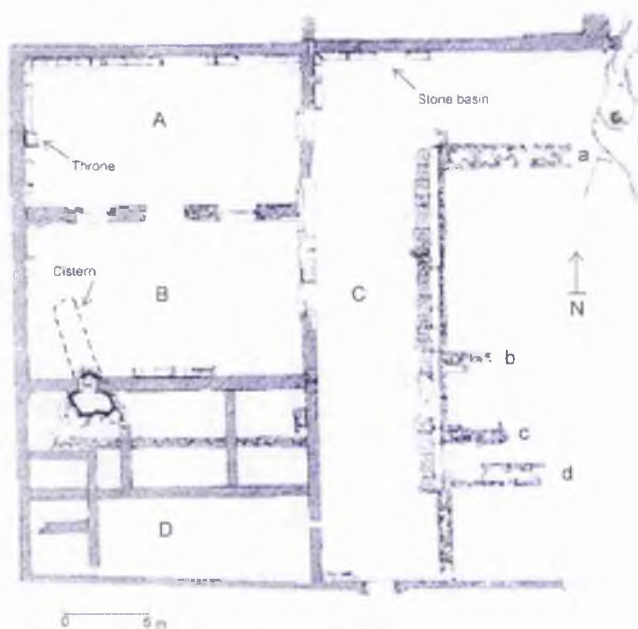
Plan of Philippopolis synagogue [after Kesjakova 1989]



Stobi. Plan of Central Basilica (in outline). Synagogue II (in heavy lines). Synagogue I and earlier Roman walls (in hatched lines) [After Wiseman 1975]



Plan of Aegina synagogue (after Mazur 1935)



Plan of building GD 80 ('Synagogue'), Delos
(After Bruneau 1970, pl. B)



Fig. 1. Moes1



Fig. 2. Moes2



Fig. 3. Moes2



Fig. 4. Moes2



Fig. 1. Thr1-2

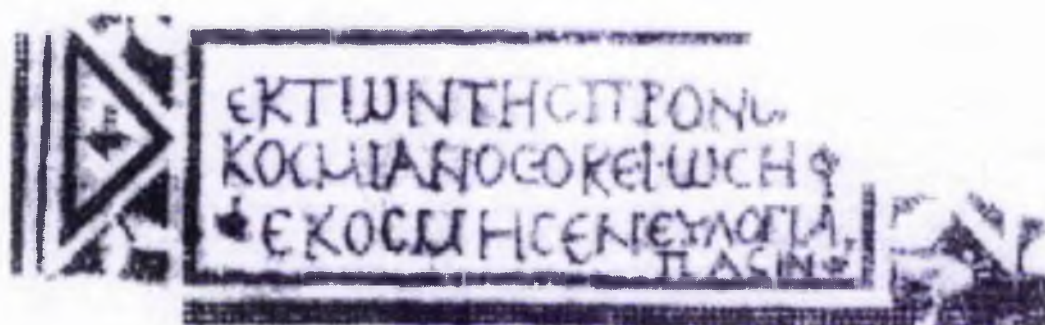


Fig. 2. Thr1



Fig. 3. Thr1

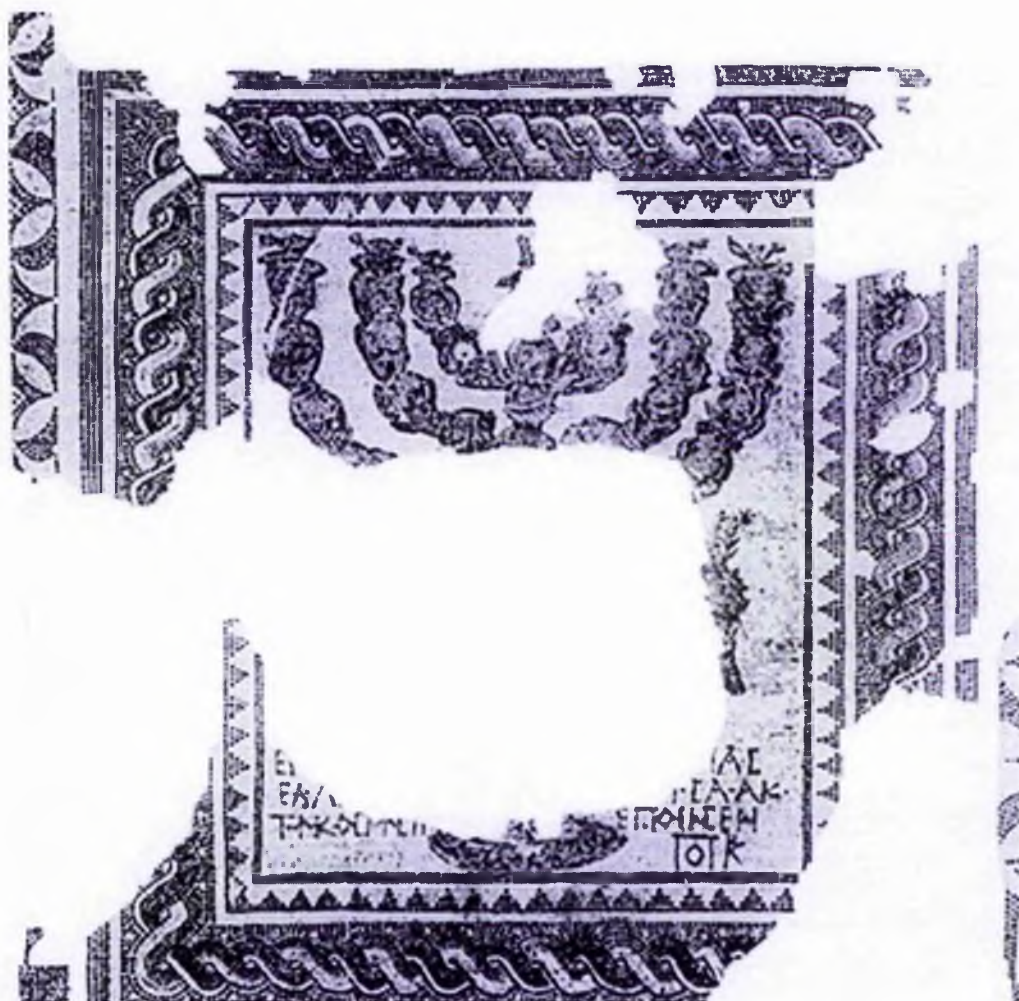


Fig. 1. Thr2



Fig. 2. Philippopolis: Synagogue mosaic (central panel)



Fig. 1. Philippopolis: Synagogue mosaic (central panel)



Fig. 2. Philippopolis: Synagogue mosaic (central panel)



Fig. 3. Philippopolis: Synagogue mosaic (central panel)



Fig. 1. Philippopolis:
Synagogue mosaic (central panel)

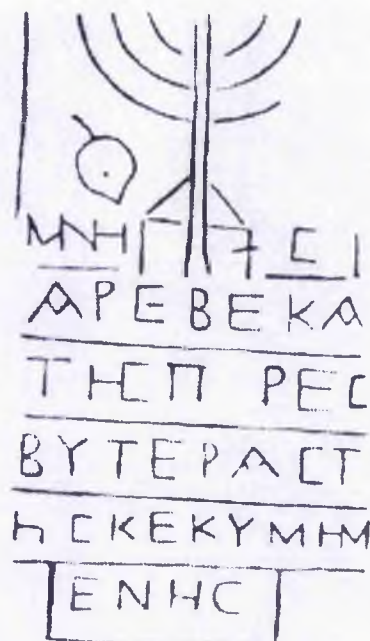


Fig. 2. Thr3



Fig. 3. Thr4



Fig. 4. Thr5

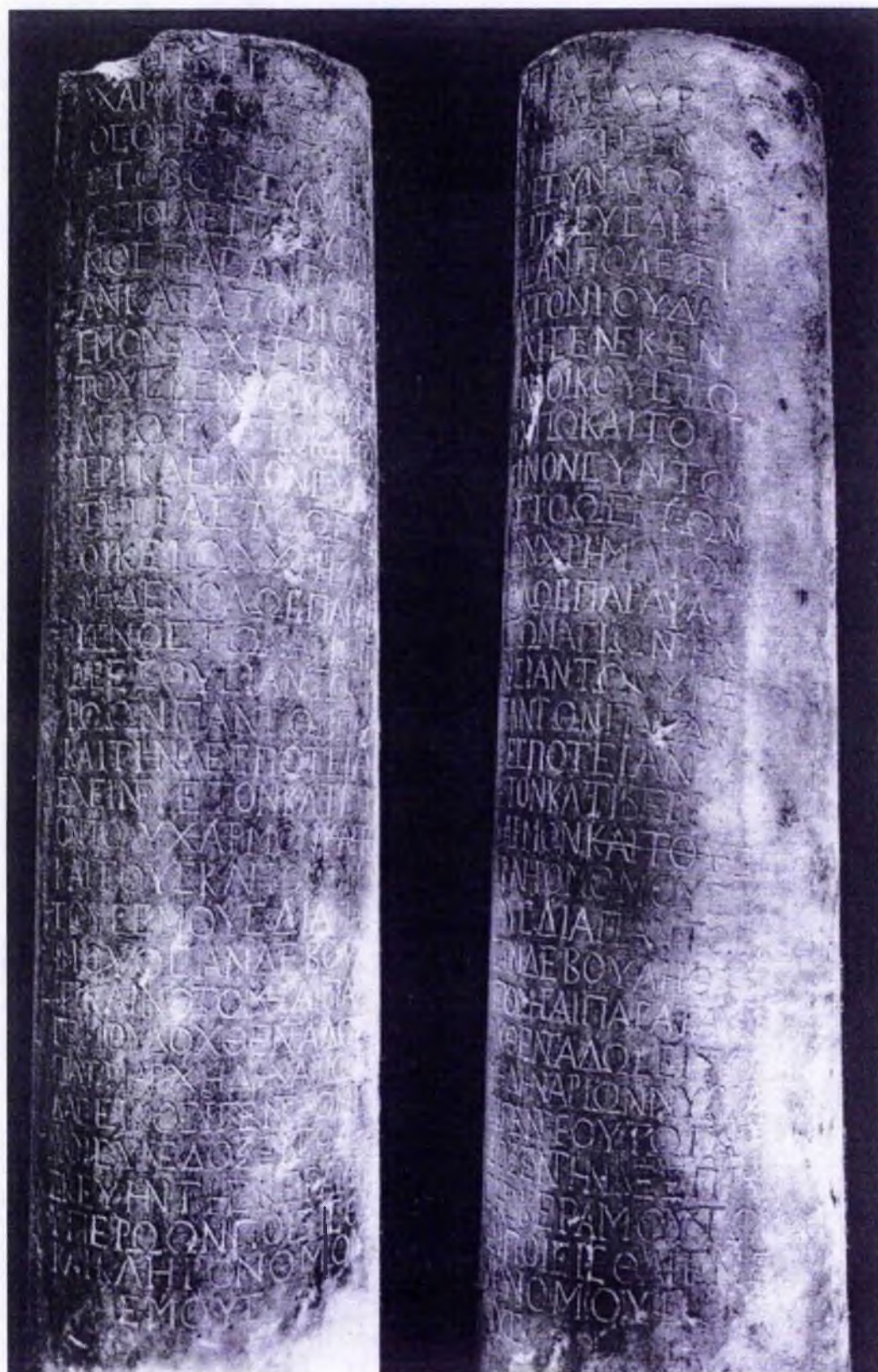


Fig. 1. Mac1



Fig. 1. Mac2



Fig. 2. Mac5

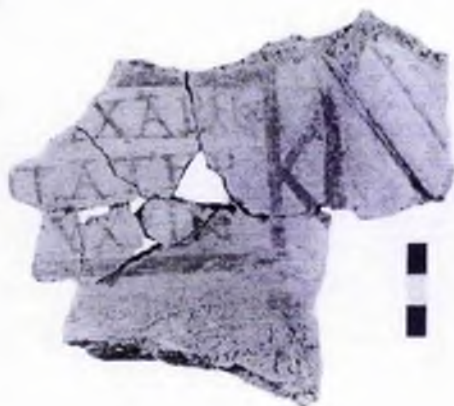


Fig. 3. Mac6



Fig. 4. Mac7



Fig. 5. Mac8



Fig. 6. Mac9



Fig. 1. Mac10



Fig. 2. Mac11



Fig. 3. Mac11



Fig. 4. Mac12



Fig. 5. Mac13

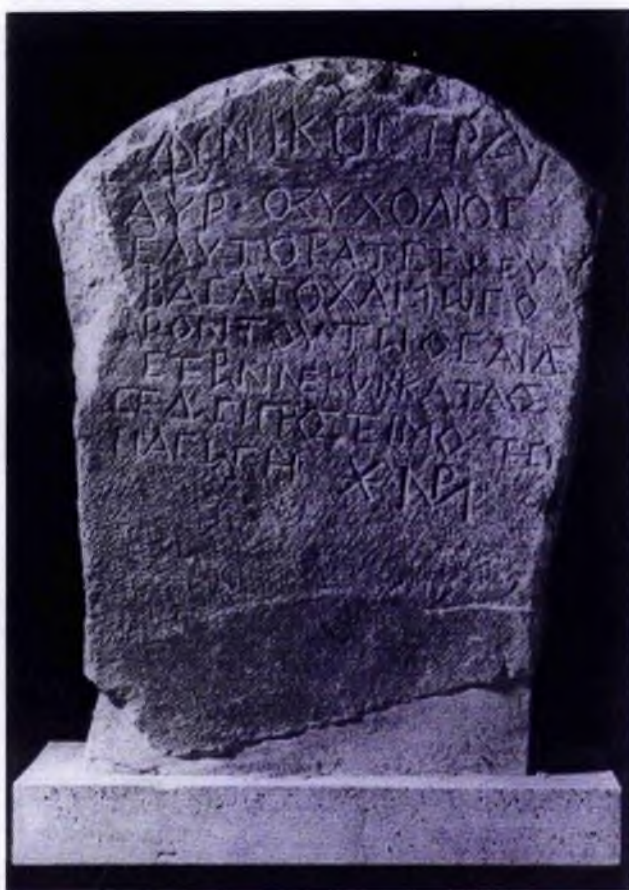


Fig. 1. Mac14



Fig. 2. Mac15



Fig. 3. Mac15

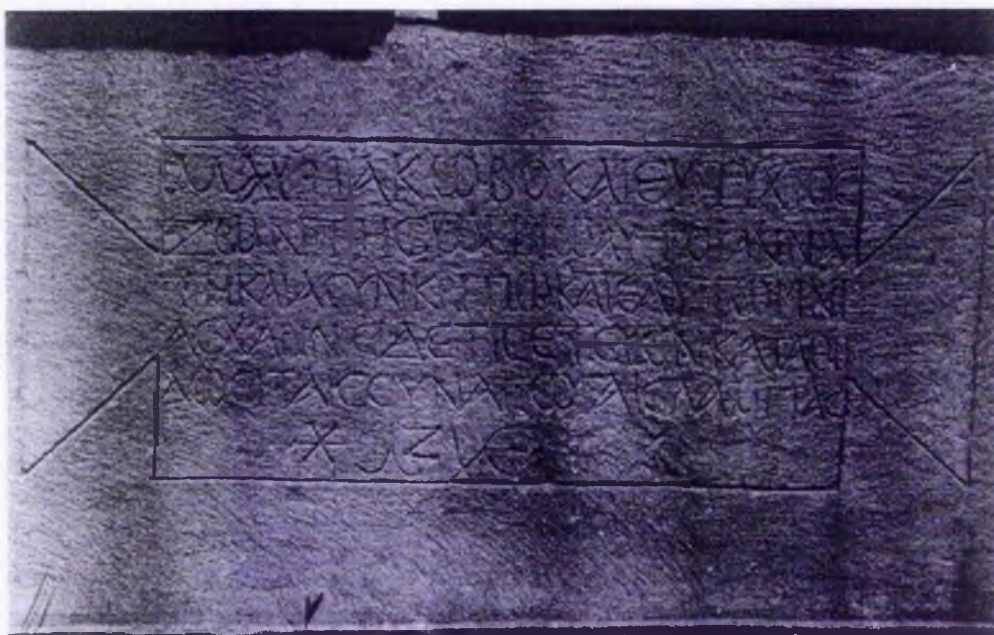


Fig. 1. Mac17



Fig. 2. Mac19

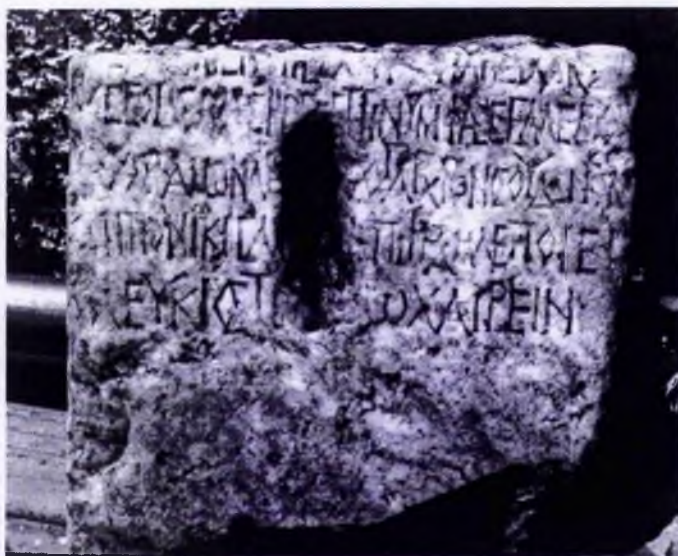


Fig. 1. Ach2



Fig. 2. Ach5



Fig. 3. Ach5 (copy)

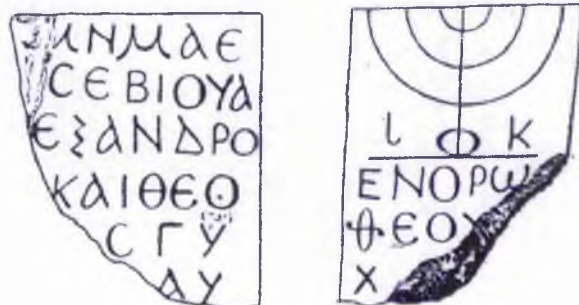


Fig. 4. Ach16

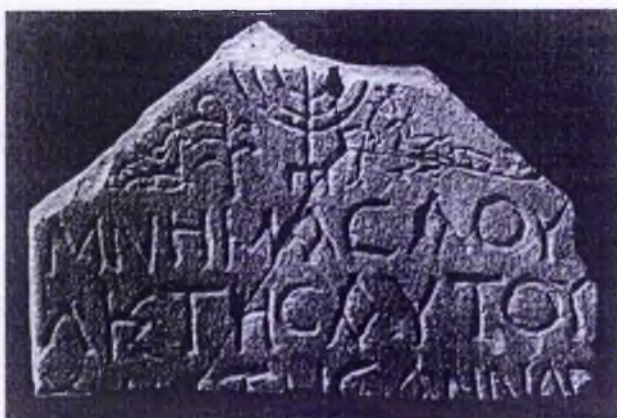


Fig. 1. Ach17



Fig. 2. Ach18



Fig. 3. Ach22

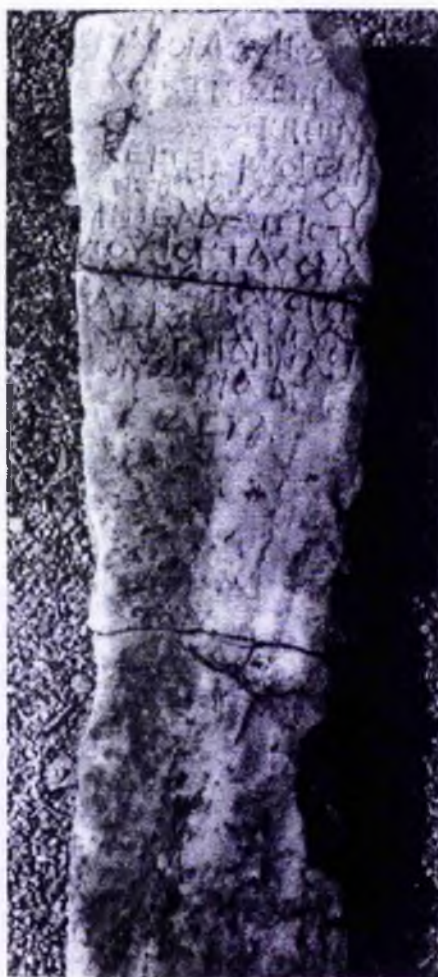


Fig. 4. Ach23



Fig. 1. Ach24



Fig. 2. Ach26



Fig. 3. Ach26



Fig. 1. Ach27



Fig. 2. Ach27 (back)



Fig. 3. Ach28



Fig. 4. Ach29



Fig. 1. Ach30



Fig. 2. Ach32



Fig. 3. Ach33

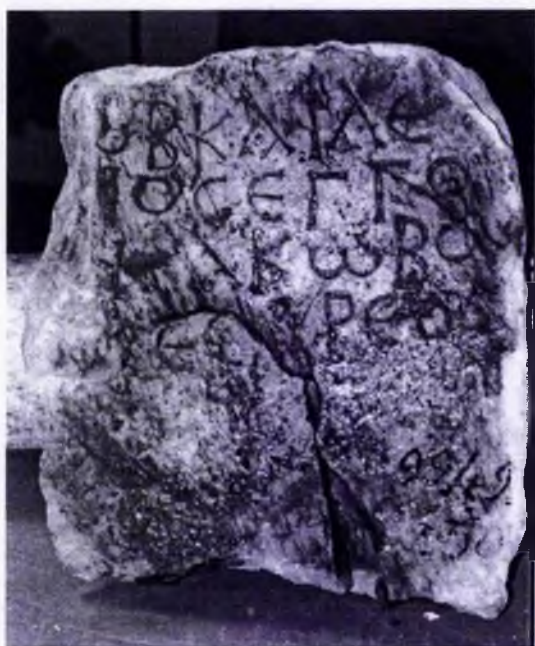


Fig. 1. Ach34



Fig. 2. Ach35



Fig. 3. Ach35



Fig. 4. Ach36

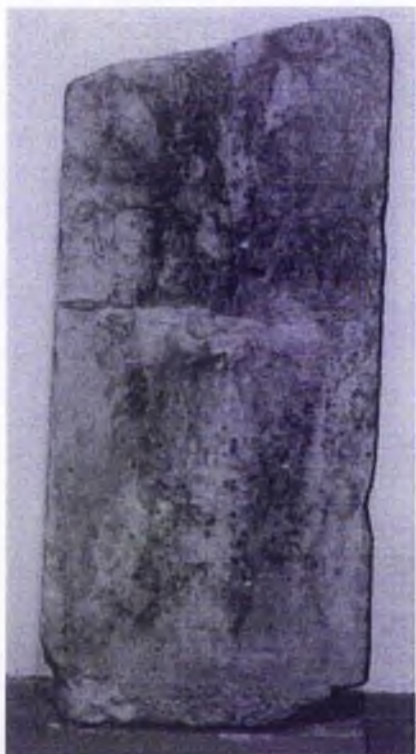


Fig. 1. Ach41



Fig. 2. Ach47



Fig. 3. Ach49



Fig. 4. Ach56



Fig. 1. Ach57



Fig. 2. Ach58



Fig. 1. Ach60



Fig. 2. Ach64



Fig. 3. Ach65



Fig. 4. Ach66



Fig. 5. Ach67

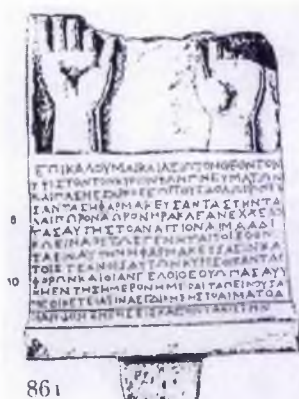


Fig. 6. Ach70

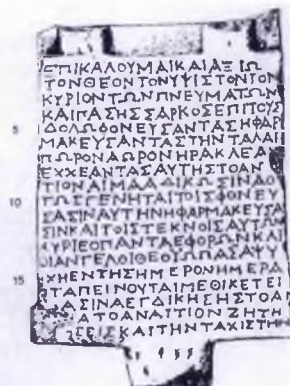




Fig. 1. Ach72



Fig. 2. Cre3



Fig. 3. App3



Fig. 1. App4



Fig. 2. App13



Fig. 3. App22



Fig. 1. A sample of lamps found at the site of Delos synagogue (GD 80)



Fig. 2. Lamps with *menoroth* from Delos



Fig. 3. Mogorjelo Fig. 4. Lamps from Salona



Fig. 1. Glass amulet from Salona



Fig. 2. Fragment of sarcophagus from Salona



Fig. 3. Stonemasons graffiti from Diocletian's palace at Salona



Fig. 4. Wall revetment from Athens



Fig. 5. Column capital from Corinth

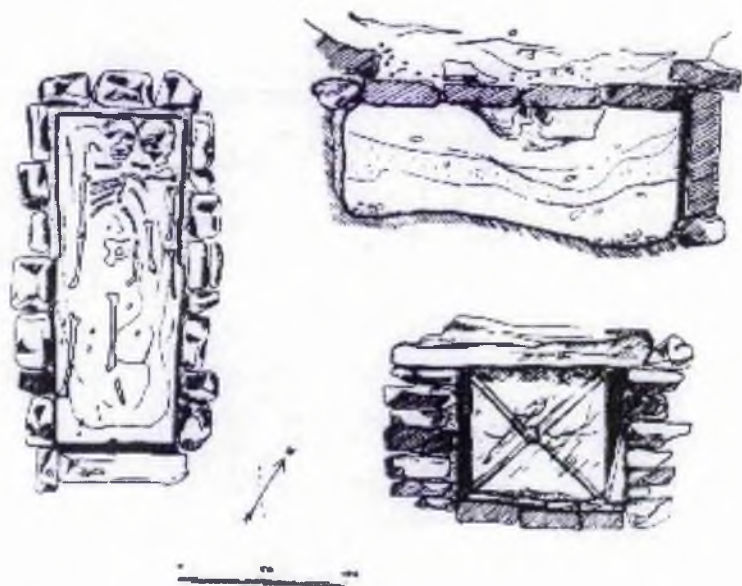


Fig. 1. Jewish tomb at Doclea

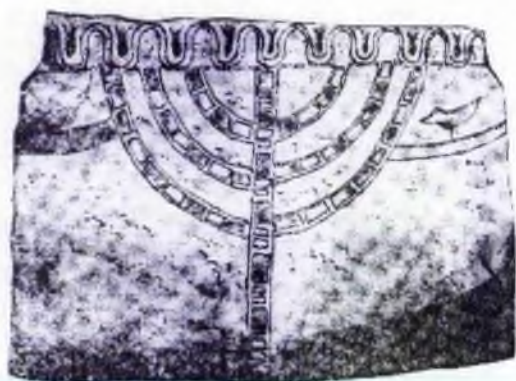


Fig. 2. North wall of the tomb

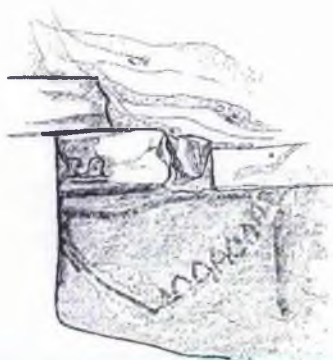


Fig. 3. East wall of the tomb



Fig. 4. Jewish tomb at Thessaloniki